

ANTONIO de NOLI

And The Beginning Of The New World Discoveries



Editor

Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli

THE ANTONIO DE NOLI ACADEMIC SOCIETY

Corradino Astengo

Marcel Balla

Ilaria Brigati

Lourenço Gomes

Trevor Hall

Alberto Peluffo

Vasco Pires

Carla Rosetti

LIBERTARIAN BOOKS – Sweden

libertarianbooks.se

Antonio de Noli And The Beginning Of The New World Discoveries.

A book from the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, published by Libertarian Books - Sweden. Editor: Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli.

ISBN 978-91-981615-0-2

The authors of this book are research members of the [Antonio de Noli Academic Society](#), and the texts here published are based on the proceedings of the International Conference "From Noli to Cape Verde" (*in Italian "Da Noli a Capo Verde"*), hosted at the Fondazione Culturale Sant'Antonio of the City of Noli, Italy, on the 18-19 September 2010. The research event was called by the Antonio de Noli Academic Society to commemorate the 550th anniversary of the discovery of Cape Verde (1460-2010) by Antonio de Noli.

These research presentations are also reported in Italian language in the book "Da Noli a Capo Verde - Antonio de Noli e l'inizio delle scoperte del Nuovo Mondo", given by the Cultural Foundation Sant'Antonio (Noli, Savona, Italy), and the Antonio de Noli Academic Society. Published by Marco Sabatelli Editore, Italy, February 2013. Editor of the Italian version was Prof. Alberto Peluffo.

As this edition may be subject for eventual corrections of editing details, we refer to the website Libertarianbooks.se for updates.

The Italian version:

Astengo C, Balla M., Brigati I., Ferrada de Noli M., Gomes L., Hall T., Pires V., Rosetti C. *Da Noli a Capo Verde. Antonio de Noli e l'inizio delle scoperte del Nuovo Mondo*. Editor Prof. Alberto Peluffo. Marco Sabatelli Editore. 2013.
ISBN 978-88-88449-82-1

Translation of the Italian texts: Prof. Alberto Peluffo

Cover: Artwork by *Arte de Noli*, Bergamo, 2013

@The Antonio de Noli Academic Society @Libertarian Books - Sweden

THE ANTONIO DE NOLI ACADEMIC SOCIETY

Astengo C, Balla M., Brigati I., Ferrada de Noli M.,
Gomes L., Hall T., Peluffo A., Rosetti C., Pires V.

Antonio de Noli

And the beginning of the New World discoveries

Editor

Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli

Libertarian Books – Sweden
History And Human Rights
Libertarianbooks.se

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| i. Foreword by the Mayor of the City of Noli Mayor Ambrogio Repetto | 6 |
| ii. Antonio de Noli and the City of Noli Foreword by Professor Emeritus Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Lifetime Honorary President of the Society | 8 |
| 1. Introduction. Summary of research findings Prof. Dr. Marcello Ferrada de Noli | 11 |
| 2. From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: Navigation and Portolan Charts Prof. Dr. Corradino Astengo | 16 |
| 3. Antonio de Noli. The official discoverer and first settler of Cape Verde Islands Prof. Dr. Lourenço Gomes | 26 |
| 4. Returning to Italy. Descendants of the De Noli family in Cesena and Genoa 1497 – 1881 Prof. Dr. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Dr. Carla Rossetti, and Dr. Ilaria Brigati | 39 |
| 5. Governor Antonio de Noli and His Family in the Cape Verde Islands and Portugal: Discoverers, Colonizers, and Governors, 1460-1704 Prof. Dr. Trevor Hall | 67 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 6. The Greatest Story Never Told. Cabo Verde, the Genesis of the New World Marcel Balla, M.A. | 119 |
| 7. The Impact of the 550-Year History of Cape Verde on the USA Capt. Vasco Pires, Bs.Ed. | 139 |
| 8. The city of Noli opened the road to a proper acknowledgement of Antonio de Noli as the discoverer and colonizer of the Islands of Cape Verde Prof. Alberto Peluffo | 154 |
| 9. Historical theses on Antonio de Noli. Editor's Closing Remarks Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli | 158 |
| Pictorial | 164 |



The Society's historical banner by the time of its foundation

The Antonio de Noli Academic Society is an international research organization founded by Antonio de Noli descendants at Serra-Riccò (Genoa)

oreword by the Mayor of the City of Noli

In 2010 a panel of international experts commemorated the 550th anniversary of the Discovery of Cabo Verde by the Italian navigator, Antonio de Noli. An International Congress was convened on 18 Sep 2010 here, in the Ancient Maritime Republic of Noli, Italy, at which time we determined that Antonio de Noli was the official discoverer of the first Cabo Verde Islands in 1460, becoming in 1462 the first Cape Verdean settler, who established and governed the first European city in the tropics. These historical events are believed to be the beginning of the period generally known as “The Discovery Age”.

During this initial phase of the “Discovery Age”, Antonio de Noli made major contributions to the discovery of the New World as well as the discovery of a new sea route to India and the Orient, which opened up the waterways for globalization and modern day capitalism.

As a direct result of this new information, the Fondazione Culturale S. Antonio in Noli has published a new book that examines biographical aspects of Antonio de Noli and the role of his discoveries in the modernization of the New World. This book is based on research papers presented at the said congress and – considering the high relevance and international implications of such studies – I would strongly suggest that it should be a central reading reference in public schools and universities offering courses on the history of the New World and the Discovery Age.

The International Congress revealed many hidden facts about the discovery period that have been ignored by traditional historians for more than 550 years. This new information provides us with the first detailed report about the early Cape Verdeans and their role in the development of the modern world as well as the beginning of Hispanic American history.

I believe that this new information should be taught in the educational systems of the world if we are going to get a true and more accurate picture of the “Discovery Age”. This book also provides us with important details about the first documented multiracial society in the New World. Thus it is extremely important in helping us to better understand the world in which we live today.

It should also be noted that this research was conducted by the Antonio de Noli Academic Society with the participation of the Republic of Cabo Verde, the City Council of Noli and the Fondazione Culturale S. Antonio of Noli. The contents of

this research are authorized by Professor Marcello Ferrada de Noli, a direct descendant of Antonio de Noli of the noble Noli family with historic roots in Noli and Genoa. Professor de Noli is also the honorary president and founder of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society and genealogical research of his family tree represents an important undertaking in understanding the history of his famous ancestor. **This event marks the first time in the history of the New World that a known society has been able to trace its roots directly to the discoverer and first resident who created the original society.**

Based on this information which is supported by independent research by international experts from around the world, we here in Noli, believe that this book should be considered as the official version of the discovery of Cabo Verde and that the ancestors of this archipelago, who are represented by both European and African elements, were the pioneers of the New World discoveries and opened up the world to the modern age.

This revolutionary new book also represents a valuable source of information for the study of many academic disciplines, for example, economics, topography, anthropology, astronomy, globalization, capitalism, international relations, political science, military science, philosophy, archaeology, the rule of law, religion, oceanography, ethnology, biology, sociology, multiculturalism, the history of the New World and probably still more disciplines not mentioned here.

*The Mayor of the City of Noli
Ambrogio Repetto*

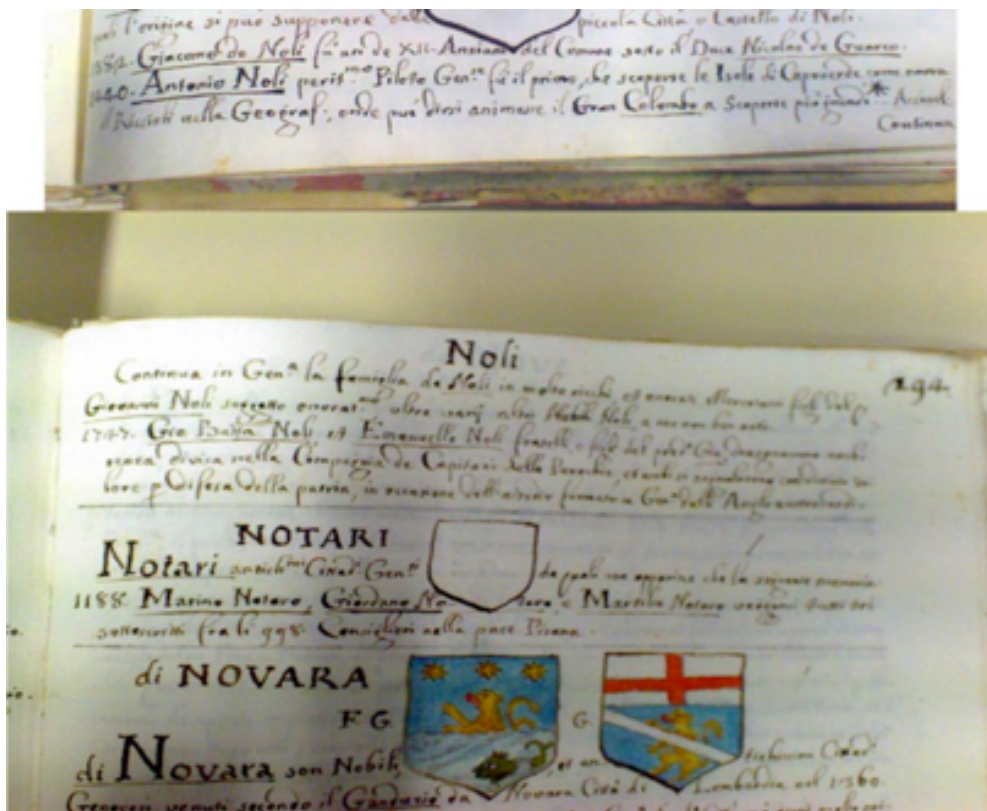


Stemmi della Città di Noli

Antonio de Noli and the City of Noli

Foreword to the Italian edition by Professor emeritus Marcello Ferrada de Noli,
Founder of the Society.

The strong relationship between the City of Noli and the historical stature of navigator Antonio de Noli and his maritime enterprise in West Africa and Cape Verde is at least two fold. In the first place there is the aspect of the genealogical and historical origins of the family de Noli to which Antonio de Noli and his brother Bartholomeo belonged. In fact, during a research visit to Genoa in 2008 I was able to document an ancient manuscript in the library of the University of Genoa ("Famiglie Di Genova. Antiche, e Moderne, Estinte, e Viventi, Nobili, e Popolari") which in "Parte II, D.E.F.G.I.L.M.N.O./ MDCCLXXXIII", page 293, signaled the family of Antonio de Noli as historically originated in the City of Noli and its Castle:



"Famiglie Di Genova. Antiche, e moderne, estinte, e viventi, nobili, e popolari". Parte II,

My previous research suggested that the original genealogical root comprised in the lineage of all the Noli families in Northern Italy - particularly Liguria and part of Piedmont and Lombardy² – is to be found in the City of Noli. Further, by means of the migration of several of the de Noli descendants along the seven hundred year documented history of this family, we find the City of Noli roots represented elsewhere in the world, not only in Cape Verde, but also in the Americas and elsewhere in Europe.

Secondly, we have the most likely fact – historically based – that the three-vessel expedition of Antonio de Noli and his brother Bartholomeo sailing towards Portugal in the beginning of that long exploration journey which ended with the discoveries of the Cape Verde Islands, started right in the heart of the ancient Maritime Republic of Noli, namely, its harbor.

When Genoa opened hostilities against Barcelona in the war for the control of the Occidental Mediterranean Sea, the naval expedition of the Genoese fleet commanded by Lazzaro Doria departed in 1466 - as historically documented - from the port of Noli³. It is highly likely that the de Noli expedition towards Portugal; with a departure around that time period; also sailed from Noli. The following three reasons are behind that sound assumption.

The date of the Noli expedition has been estimated between 1449 and 1460, and if the port of Genoa was not operative for technical reasons for Lazzaro Doria in the beginning of the sixties, it could not have been operative for any other fleet, including the one of Antonio de Noli.

Another reason would be that the brothers de Noli, provided they were on the run for political reasons (as historians have repeatedly reported) they would not have had the possibility to arm their fleet, contract their numerous crew, etc., at Genoa in the open.

The third reason would be that family ties (amid a family known traditionally, as being, in the shipyard business for centuries) would have enabled the preparation of their small fleet in the port of Noli, the family old *alma mater*.

Hence, the Antonio de Noli Academic Society planned and co-organized the Conference “Da Noli a Capo Verde” - *From Noli to Capo Verde* – together with the Embassy of Cape Verde and the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation, wishes to express its warm and genuine thanks to the City of Noli for implementing this initiative.

Finally, in celebrating the 550th anniversary of the de Noli brothers’ historical explorations and discoveries, we would also like to pay homage to the proud, courageous, civil people of Cape Verde and to their heroic struggle against

² i.e.: The Noli family of Cameriano Castle in Novara during 1400’s, or branches in Bergamo, Milano, or Parma

³ Gallo Antonio, *Genovesi e Catalani: Guerra sul mare. Relazione di Antonio Gallo (1466). Memorie Genovesi*. A cura di Clara Fossati. Genova, 1977

colonialism which ended just 35 years ago. Let Italian ancestor Antonio de Noli remains a distinguished conqueror, a key-opener of acculturation or a forerunner of colonialism.

Indeed, the first European Governor in Sub-Saharan Africa opened the door of Africa to "so called civilizations". But above all, let colonialism and its antihuman voracity be buried forever.

Let our celebration of today "Da Noli a Capo Verde" be also the most beautiful message of brotherhood, equality of all nations, social justice, personal integrity, and freedom for every single soul. "Da Capo Verde, da Noli" to all the good people of this world

INTRODUCTION. Summary of research findings

By Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, editor

Visiting anew the city of Noli at the Ligurian coast on the 5th of July - anniversary of the independence of Cape Verde Republic - I was asked by the editors to author an Introduction to the research book “Da Noli a Capo Verde”, which in its English version is entitled “From Noli To Cape Verde”. The book contains the scholarly presentations at the international research conference with the same title, on navigator Antonio de Noli. This event took place at the City of Noli in September 2010, at the initiative of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, in commemorating the 550th anniversary of the discovery by navigator Antonio de Noli, the first Governor of Cape Verde and also the first European governor in the African colonies south of the Sahara.

The discovery of the first Cape Verde Islands in the Atlantic Ocean by the Genoa-born navigator Antonio de Noli in 1460, marked not only the foundation of a new nation, but also the facilitation of a new maritime route that enabled the discovery of America. As distinguished scholars Marcel Balla and Trevor Hall have earlier suggested, the impact of Captain De Noli’s discovery also marked the transfer of a new civilization to the New World, which would become known later as Western Civilization. Further, the discoveries by De Noli revolutionized the science of cartography. Genoa University professor Corradino Astengo summed up this cartographic relevance during our Noli Conference of 2010: “Cape Verde archipelago became the geographical point from which the rest of the world was measured: it was the centre of the World”.

Back in 2005, I met in Noli Prof. Alberto Peluffo, at that time Vice Mayor of the city. From the beginning of our first meetings, he expressed optimism that a scholarly and scientific-minded research would give further clarity on the historical roots of the De Noli families in historical Genoa – which at older times comprised Serra Riccò - are to be found in the City of Noli. Facts proved him right: the historical links of the De Noli family with the City of Noli are of ancient record, as shown in a manuscript I discovered in 2008 at the Library of the University of Genoa (the Della Cella manuscripts), and referred amidst the research materials of this book. In the section “Famiglia Noli” of Della Cella manuscript where it shows

that the family Noli, was established in the Genoa region since the 1300's and thus it can be assumed that it originates from the "piccola Città e Castello di Noli".⁴

Research contributions

In these few years since the foundations of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, the research contributions of the members towards the elucidation of some prevalent enigmas have been fruitful – for instance with regard to the Cape Verde discoveries and the Genoese origins of Navigator De Noli and his historical/political whereabouts in Cape Verde. Besides, several books authored by the research members of the Board of Directors were completed or published during this period – all of which shall certainly contribute to the further academic establishment of the Society in the international scholar community.

For that we are indebted principally to authors Dott. Marcel Balla (*"The History of Cabo Verde 1460-2010, in Paintings"* - English and Portuguese versions, 2011, and the *"Untold Secrets of Cabo Verde, The Treaty of Tordesilhas and the Un-Holy Roman Empire"*, 2012), Professor Trevor Hall (working titles of his recent books submitted for publication: *"The man who became Christopher Columbus: Was Governor Antonio de Noli of the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands really Christopher Columbus?"* and *"From freedom to bondage: English translations of a customs receipt book from the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands 1513 - 1526"*, 2012), and Professor Lourenço Gomes *"Urbe Memória e Crítica da Arte"*, Edições Uni-CV (Universidade de Cabo Verde), *"Nhô N'Ton Julinhe e Nhô Candinhe: duas referencias do Património Cultural da Ilha de S. Nicolau"*, Colibri Edições, Portugal.

Findings presented at the Conference in Noli

Prof. Corradino Astengo displayed various maps to show the evolution of cartography before and after the discovery of Cabo Verde. The evolution of this history clearly shows the dramatic change in map-making after this famous discovery. He also pointed out that Columbus referred to Antonio de Noli as the discoverer of Cabo Verde on the so-called Columbus world map.

Dott. Marcel Balla displayed rare 17th century maps that documented Antonio de Noli as the discoverer of Cabo Verde and also showed an area on the West Coast of Africa with the name of Genhoa, which gives a strong indication that it was named after the discoverer of Cabo Verde, Antonio de Noli. He also compared the story of Cabo Verde to that of the Bible as the archipelago represents the genesis of the New World Discoveries and offers the world a golden opportunity to do research in this area which can provide the world with valuable evidence in properly documenting the history of the New World and the contributions made by Antonio de Noli and the Cape Verdean people which has been ignored for centuries.

Prof. Lourenço Gomes established with strong documented evidence that Antonio de Noli was in fact the "official discover" of Cabo Verde and also the first Cape Verdean settler. He also exhibited one of the few stamps in existence with a painting of Antonio de Noli.

⁴ Picture of Della Cella's manuscript-details in the foreword above, "Antonio de Noli and the City of Noli", page 6

Prof. Trevor Hall established a non-interrupted continued presence of the de Noli family in Cabo Verde for more than two centuries after the demise of Antonio de Noli, which provides good reason to believe that further research is needed that could prove the existence of de Noli family heritage is still existing on the islands although these descendants may not be aware of their historical heritage. Hall also produced evidence that Cabo Verde was the world's first tropical vacation choice for mariners during the early period of the Discovery Age as well as the first attempt to initiate a *laissez faire* capitalist system during the rule of Antonio de Noli.

Capt. Vasco Pires provided the conference with solid information about the impact that was made by Antonio de Noli in the USA, especially with detailed information about the whaling industry in New Bedford, MA, which had a strong Cape Verdean presence. He also brought to the attention the fact that all Africans in Cabo Verde were not slaves and that some were actually free men.

Summary of biographic and genealogical findings

Further research conducted at the Society (Rosetti C, Brigati I, Ferrada de Noli M) suggests that Captain Antonio de Noli, a political exile from Genoa, sailed together with his brother Bartolommeo and Nephew Rafael from the City of Noli by 1449-1460. After a brief stay in Spain and Portugal they established the first societies in Cape Verde giving birth to a new nation, totally composed by early populations from Italy, the Iberia Peninsula, and the West Coast of Africa. This is probably the first time in history that a new ethnic cultural group has evolved that can actually be observed by science while it is in an embryonic stage of development. After the cessation of hostilities of the Lusitano-Spanish (Castillians) war and re-occupation of Cape Verde by the Portuguese, the whereabouts of Antonio de Noli, who remained also governor under the Spaniards occupation, faded away. Records on the demise details or disappearance from Cape Verde of Governor Antonio de Noli and family have remained unknown.

However, at the end of that century (1498), and according to manuscripts at the Malatestiana Library, descendants of Antonio de Noli are recorded for the first time being in Cesena, in Emilia Romagna -- a regional neighbour to Liguria. Some decades thereafter, by 1574, the De Noli family (referred in one manuscript as *oriunda*, i.e. arriving from "abroad") is reported as extinguished (*estinta*) in Cesena. But after that interval, a main part of the De Noli descendants began instead to emerge - from 1586 and onwards - in the small locations of Noli in Valleregia, or Pedemonte and other *frazione* in Serra Riccò. Serra Riccò is a municipality of the Province of Genoa, located only 18 kilometres north of Genoa City, and at that time belonging the ancient Genoa Republic. The de Noli descendants are also found in the nowadays cities of Genoa and Savona in Liguria, and in Milan and Bergamo in Lombardy. Historically, other branches of the Noli family -- all of them with roots presumably departing from Noli (currently in the Province of Savona) - have also inhabited both the Novara region in Piedmont, e.g. Castello di Cameriano, as well as Cremona in Lombardy. There is also a presence of Noli families living nowadays in Sardinia.

Following the disappearance of Governor Antonio de Noli from the political scenarios of Cape Verde, Portugal, and Spain, De Noli descendants -- still politically

ostracised from Genoa - arrived in Cesena at the end of the 1400's with sufficient gold as to buy seats in the City Council (paid 156 gold-scudi the seat). The gold bars were presumably the profit of the cotton plantations and slave trade run by Governor Antonio de Noli and his brother Bartolomeo. In Cesena the De Noli reunited with the Fieschi, who were old time political allies (members of the Fieschi and the De Noli families had participated in the Genoa government of Duke Nicolas de Guarco); some members of the Fieschi family had also been exiled from Genoa.

The first De Noli descendant in Cesena that acquired a seat in the Council was Simone de Noli (1498). Then a younger descendant, and who also received the name Antonio de Noli, became a member of the Cesena Council. He would be the last prominent member of the family in the short-lived Cesena *soggiorno*. According to a manuscript kept at the Malatestiana Library, the De Noli family was declared extinguished in Cesena in 1574 -- this coinciding with the times in which the Genoa government promulgated several amnesty provisions (and finally the promulgation of the *Costituzione di Genova* of March 17th, 1576) that benefitted the exiled families, among them being the De Noli and the Fieschi.

The De Noli in Genoa and in Serra Ricco

The first De Noli descendants ever recorded in the civil manuscripts kept by the Valleregia Parish (baptisms, mortalities, marriages), appeared only in an entry of year 1586 and referred specifically the names of Antonio de Noli and Bartolommeo de Noli. Other manuscripts of the same period 1586 – 1597 convey also the names of Simone de Noli, Ambrosio de Noli, Rafael de Noli, and others of the first generations in Valleregia. These identical name-combinations are previously found only in the Governor Antonio de Noli's family constellation in Cape Verde (Antonio de Noli, brother Bartolommeo de Noli and nephew Rafael de Noli) and in the manuscripts at the Malatestiana Library referring the Cesena-Council members (Antonio de Noli and Simone de Noli), entries of 1498, 1503, and 1574.

Investigations conducted at the Valleregia Parish in Serra Riccò 2005-2008 established a lineage linking eleven generations of descendants that were birth-recorded and baptized in the very same church (Chiesa San Martino) between the first generation of the De Noli mentioned in the manuscripts 1586 - 1597 and the generation of Vittorio Noli, my grand father, born 1881. These findings were completed in independent investigations conducted by Dottorressa Ilaria Brigati in 2009-2010 at the Valleregia Archives; our findings altogether suggest there are other branches in the Noli families in the region of Genoa and Serra Riccò with a common root in the first generations of the De Noli in Valleregia, which break down over the years in different lineages.

Acknowledgments

Prof. and author Alberto Peluffo has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Society since 2010, and is the newly elected President of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society and Chairman of the Board of Directors. Prof. Peluffo has vast experience in cultural policy matters, he has been the Vice Mayor of Noli and during several years he was responsible for organizing cultural events in the City. He is also a scholar and author of "A Dream beyond the Sea", a research book

describing the early 1800's emigration processes from the City of Noli. For my part, as founder and departing president of this society, I wish him all the best and with the highest degree of confidence that he will successfully pursue the realization of the principles and aims of the Society as defined in the Bylaws.

Finally, on behalf of our Academic Society, I wish to thank in first place *Istituzione Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena* for valuable material and research input, in particular Director Dr Daniela Savoia and Deputy Director Dr Paola Errani for the research facilities provided; Cape Verde Ambassador to Italy, Dr Jose Eduardo Barbosa, for always encouraging support; the mayors Ambrogio Repetto and Andrea Torre, of Noli and Serra Ricco, respectively, for hosting our numerous meetings and conferences to commemorate Antonio de Noli's cultural heritage, and I specially thank the Cultural Adviser of the Municipality of Serra Riccò Tomaso Richini for his warm support to the initiatives of this society. The institution "Fondazione Culturale Sant'Antonio" of the City of Noli was also pivotal in the realization of our Society's initiative to have the conference hosted in Noli in September 2010.

At the end of this journey for me personally, I take pleasure in conveying that it has been a delightful research endeavour for myself while giving me the utmost inspiration in being able to meet such qualified scholars devoted to the cause of History. For this, while writing a Forward for such an important book bearing the research fruits of our Society, I take this opportunity to offer warm and genuine thanks to my colleague Dott. Marcel Balla, for his invaluable research input towards our society and for supporting this idea from the very beginning; to professor colleague Trevor Hall for his dedicated and extraordinary research that he provides to the society; to Captain and writer Vasco Pires for his contribution in explaining the impact of Antonio de Noli's discoveries in American history; to professors colleagues Corradino Astengo of the University of Genoa and Lourenço Gomes of the University of Cape Verde, for priceless academic input to the society; to co-authors Dottoressa Carla Rosetti from the Malatestiana Library (*Istituzione Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena, Sezione conservazione e ricerche*), and Dottoressa Ilaria Brigati, at the Genoa *Diocesi*, both whom our research is particularly indebted.

To all of the above mentioned, warm regards from the descendants of the De Noli family in Genoa, Serra Riccò, Savona, and Bergamo. I sincerely hope that international research will pursue further initiatives on these important historical issues, which have been ignored for centuries. In this regard, let the findings established in this conference, and which are now being published in this book, represent to the international public and scholars, a humble beginning on this thrilling scientific path.

Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Professor Emeritus
Honorary President of the Antonio de Noli Academic Societ

From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic: Navigation and Portolan Charts

By Professor Corradino Astengo, Università di Genova

In the Mediterranean, in an environment where contacts among different people were frequent, by the end of the 13th century new instruments were introduced which allowed the pilots and sea captains to find a sea route without resorting exclusively to experience and memory; the compass, the written *portolano* and the portolan chart. The compass, of Chinese origin, came to be introduced into the Mediterranean by the Arabs and was perfected by attaching a paper disk with the compass rose to the magnetic needle. The *portolano*, which derives directly from the classical *periploi*, consisted of a series of instructions written for the navigators with the descriptions of the coasts and an indication of the direction and the distance between one port and another. The portolan chart, a totally new instrument, was a necessary complement, as it allowed to embrace the whole sea stretch to be sailed in a single glance and to easily draw the route with the help of a compass.

This innovative product distinguished itself clearly from the medieval world map, the type of cartographical representation that was prevalent at that time because it responded to different criteria. World map makers had no concern for the precise geographical configuration as they only intended to give us the Christian interpretation of the world in regards to the criteria of symmetry, universality and unchangeability, whereas the portolan charts were based on the knowledge acquired by the navigators during their actual experience at sea and used in the practice of navigation: the precise design of the coast, therefore became an essential feature.

Generally speaking with few exceptions, scholars agree in dating the origins to the late medieval period, while there is still great uncertainty regarding the problem of the place in which they would have been conceived and produced for the first time. The area represented, which A. E. Nordenskold⁵ defines as “*Area del Portolano Normale*”, usually includes the Mediterranean, the Black Sea, a small part of the African Coast and a wider stretch of the European coasts. It was sketched on a full sheet of parchment or subdivided in sections, in a series of rectangles of parchments that were later bound together in a single book.

⁵ Nordenskold A.E. Peuplus, Stockholm 1897

The details of the interior land in the oldest models were reduced to a minimum, while the coastal contours were made with extreme care and that surprisingly are quite realistic.

The nautical maps, which generally are oriented with the north at the top, are distinguished by the absence of a grid system for geographical coordinates and by the presence of some directional lines, that are also called lines of the wind or rhumbs which have their origins in the wind roses placed in the center of the chart and at the periphery in order to cover the full design.

The direction lines, according to a convention always respected, were in black for the principal 8 winds, in green for the 8 half winds and in red for the 16 quarter winds; with the colors strictly coded they constitute an indispensable cognitive scheme to orient the map and find the route. It was sufficient, in fact, to draw, with a piece of lead, a segment of a straight line between the point of departure and the point of arrival, then search with the aid of dividers the nearest direction parallel to that segment and finally read on the compass the direction to follow during the voyage.

Perpendicularly to the coastal lines and in the interior, names of places were usually written in black or red according to their importance. The geographical place names were the link with the oral tradition of seamen, they were one of the basis on which the prototypes had been made and the connecting element with the navigational charts, which allowed a joint use of both instruments.

It was also very important to calculate the distance of the voyage; for this reason, the maps always had one or more graphic scales placed along the margins or in a suitable place on the scroll. These consisted of a series of spaces alternatively subdivided by dots in 5 smaller spaces, each one of which corresponded to 10 miles; each larger space therefore was equivalent to 50 miles.

As they were empirically made on the basis of the directions and of the distances used in practice with only the assistance of simple instruments, a line, a compass and a magnetic needle, the portolan charts lacked a realistic and proper projection and they didn't take into account the curvature of the earth; nevertheless, although, the angles that were being sketched on the map did not correspond to those on the surface of the globe as far as the practical aims of sailing in the Mediterranean or along the European Atlantic coasts, the mistakes were absolutely negligible.

A further proof of the use of the portolan charts at sea, strictly connected with that of the compass, is provided by the wrong inclination of the Mediterranean axis which appears to rotate in a counterclockwise direction in a measurement that varies between 8 and 11 degrees, so that the mouth of the Nile is in line with Gibraltar; such an error is attributed to the magnetic declination and the need to make maps in which the directions north-south would have resulted in perfect alignment with the true compass line, without forcing the navigators to make difficult calculations of the corrections.

The effective use on board of the portolan charts is confirmed by numerous testimonies, among which there is one by Guillaume de Nargis, a chronologist for the accomplishments of Luis IX. In fact he reports that in 1270, during a trip

between Marseilles and Tunisia, the boat that transported the sovereign was surprised by a violent storm and was separated from the fleet. After the fury of the sea had subsided, the king wanted to know the location of his ship. A map was brought to him that showed the coast of Sardinia close to Cagliari. At daybreak the following day the Sardinian coastline was actually sighted.

The oldest example coming down to us is the chart named “Pisana” (fig. 1), because it was once conserved in an archive of a noble family in Pisana.⁶ This dates back to the end of the 13th century and already introduced everything that would become the essential features that would last nearly 4 centuries.

The Pisana chart is different from the later ones, because it shows two separate centers, one for the eastern Mediterranean and one for the western Mediterranean. Also the European Atlantic coasts are in the wrong position in respect to the Mediterranean and apparently in a different scale. These elements seem to confirm the hypothesis that it is a prototype of a Mediterranean nautical map that might have been the result of the union of two or more regional charts.

The first sure dates come from the works of the Genoese Pietro Vesconte, who was active in Venice between 1311 and 1320. Between 1321 and 1327 there is a Perrino Vesconte who worked in Venice. He was probably a son of Pietro and succeeded the father in the laboratory.

Besides the traditional charts, their production also includes little atlases in which the area of the normal navigational chart was divided into 4 or 5 parchment rectangles, then bound together to form a single book. The tables are oriented differently and joined together, perhaps in need of space and with their own independent wind rose system. It was clearly very difficult to sketch a route passing from one table to the next; these small volumes were therefore not to be used on board ships.

The first charts in this style that we call “Catalan”, independently of the controversy about the nationality of the authors, are the one made in 1330 by Angelino da Dulceto,⁷ and the one made in Maiorca in 1339 by Angelino Dulceti.⁸ This was almost certainly the same person; perhaps he was a Genoese who later moved to Maiorca.⁹

Characteristics of the Catalan style are the richness of decorative elements and the abundance of details of the interior, such as mountain ranges, streams and cities. These maps were therefore not intended to be used in sailing but rather to enrich the libraries of the nobility, prelates, rich merchants and scholars, where they would be used for consultations as updated sources for geographical information borne out by objective data.

The portolan charts are different from world maps, as they do not represent restricted and permanent data. They instead represent a limited area, known

⁶ Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris. Res. Ge. B 1123

⁷ Biblioteca dei Principi Corsini, Firenze.

⁸ Bibliotheque Nationale de France, Paris. Res. Ge. B 696.

⁹ Pujades I Battlher R. J., *Les cartes Portolanes*, Barcelona.2007.

basically through experience and susceptible to continuous updating and amplifying (the information). These are not only instruments of navigators but are also the documents that register the progressive extension of the geographical horizon in an era of great discoveries. Indeed, while the world maps represented a closed and immutable world, in portolan charts the coastline continued ideally beyond the limits of the parchment sheet on which they are sketched, inviting navigators to continue on their explorations.

The two “Catalan” charts mentioned above, are examples of such broadening of knowledge. On the one dated 1330, no land appears in the space off the African coast, while on the one dated 1339 some of the Canary Islands can be seen: they had been recently rediscovered and the more southerly is indicated as “*Insule de Lanzarotus Malocelos*”, the name of the assumed discoverer.

The undated anonymous atlas named “Mediceo”¹⁰, according to some scholars can be traced back to 1351, but according to others somewhat later. It shows the archipelago of the Canaries, which is now complete and the Madeira Islands. Some of the islands of the Azores are located too far to the east, approximately on the same meridian as Madeira. This same arrangement of the Atlantic archipelagos appears on the atlas called “Catalano”¹¹ that can be dated with certainty to 1375 (fig. 2).

With the advent of ocean navigation, seamen from Spain and Portugal and the Genoese and Venetians in the service of their sovereigns had to adapt to losing sight of the coast for many days or weeks. In the absence of customary reference points, they were obliged to look for them in the vault of heaven. Such instruments as the nautical astrolabe, the quadrant and the cross-staff were built to measure the height of the stars above the horizon and astronomers prepared the sun declination tables to correct the instrument observations. The nautical charts with the direction of the wind continued to be used at sea, although with new techniques and to register the new discoveries.

The Portuguese ships on the outgoing voyage to India were able to enjoy favorable trade winds from the northeast that nevertheless, would cause extreme difficulty on the return voyage. The ships would have to sail close to the coast in order to protect themselves from constant winds and exploit the alternate sea and land breezes with frequent course changes.

Navigation was slow and dangerous because it had to be conducted even at night and close to the undiscovered coasts. These real difficulties, more than the medieval superstitions, had prevented the passing of Cape Bojador for many years.

With the advent of astronomical navigation, the Portuguese inaugurated the *volta do largo* off the coast of Guinea. They made a route to the northwest, towards the open sea and sailed with the trade winds on the beam reach, sailing far enough to carry them to the north almost in the middle of the Atlantic, leave the strip of the trade winds and enter one of the western winds that blew constantly from the northwest and allowed them to easily reach Portugal.

¹⁰ Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze. Gaddi. Rel..9.

¹¹ Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, MSS. ESP. 30.

Combining the traditionally recognized navigation based on the direction taken from the ship and on the distance sailed with the calculations of the latitude based on the height of the pole star or on the zenith distance of the sun when it reaches its peak at noon, they could determine the ship's position within a good approximation.



Fig. 1. "Carta Pisana" (c. 1280), from F.E. Jomard, *Les Monuments de la Geographie*, Paris, 1842-62.

It is in the middle of the Atlantic, beyond the Azores, which at this time are still erroneously positioned on the map, new lands begin to appear. In 1424 for the first time two large rectangular islands appear on the map of Zuane Pizzigano¹², oriented roughly to the north-south. The two legends relate to: *Ista ixola dixeno Antilla e ista ixola dixeno Satanazes*; many other geographical names; almost certainly referring to the settlements, prove that these islands were considered inhabited. In particular the seven coastal place names of Antilla seem to suggest its identification with the mythical island of the seven cities that, according to tradition was inhabited by the seven bishops who fled with their faithful and with the treasures of the cathedrals from the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the Moorish Invasion. To explain the appearance of these imaginary lands at the beginning of the 15th century, it is not necessary to turn to the hypothesis of an earlier discovery of America by the Iberian navigators.¹³ It is much more likely that when the Azores were represented, but in the wrong location, some islands from the archipelago had been sighted by Portuguese navigators on the return route and that the sea captains understood that these were somewhat further west compared to that which was on their maps, thus they would have registered them as new lands.

¹² James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, 1424 mpi.

¹³ Cortesao A. *The Nautical Chart of 1474 and the Early Discovery and Cartographical Representation of America. A Study of the History of Early Navigation and Discovery*. Lisbon. 1969.

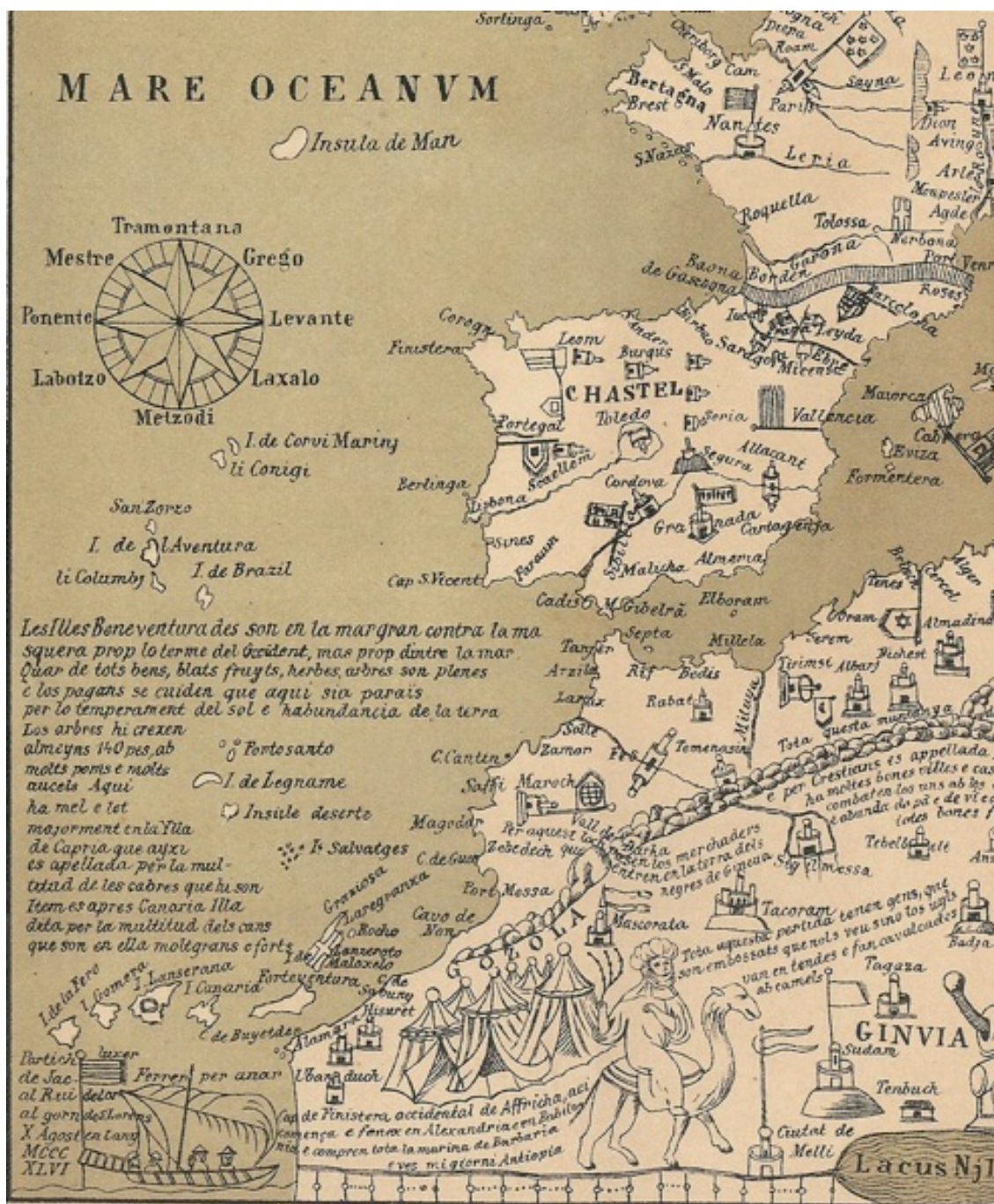


Fig. 1. "Carta Pisana" (c. 1280), from F.E. Jomard, *Les Monuments de la Geographie*, Paris, 1842-62.

Such error in any case must have been made before the definitive discovery of the Azores, which occurred around 1432, according to the chart that was made in 1439 in Maiorca by Gabriell de Valseca¹⁴, the first one to position the Azores archipelago correctly. A legend, partially damaged by an ink spot, reads: "These islands were discovered by Diego Silves, a pilot for the King of Portugal in the year 1432".

¹⁴ Museu Maritim, Barcelona, Inv. 3236. PUJADES I BATALLER R.J., *La Carta de Gabriel de Vallseca de 1439*, Barcelona. 2009.

After the passing of Cape Bojador, which took place in 1434, the explorations of the West African Coast continued on a regular basis by dispatching a fleet each year and finally reaching the mouth of the Senegal River and Cabo Verde 10 years later.

The chart made in London in 1448 by the Venetian Andrea Bianco condenses all the knowledge acquired in this phase of the great expansion of this geographic knowledge (fig. 3).

The coastal line that is represented extends from Flanders to Cabo Verde and Capo Rosso to the south and suddenly bends to the east. Off Cabo Verde one can see two symmetrical islands, indicated as *os ermanes*, while to the south appears a northerly border of a large island, cut by the margin of the parchment, indicated as: *ixola otincha xe longa a ponente 1500 mia* ("real island it stretches west 1500 miles").

On this latter land there have been many theories with plenty of imagination, while it is probable that all three islands were drawn on the basis of vague information obtained from the indigenous peoples along the African coast, suggesting in some way the presence of the large archipelago that would be discovered a few years later.

The most important cartographer of the second half of the 15th century, at least for the richness of the production, is without doubt Grazioso Benincasa: a native of Ancona, whose career started by accident. During the first part of his life he devoted himself to sea travel as a sea captain and an important trace of such activity remained on a written portolano, with a diligent description of the ports and of the Adriatic Coast of the Aegean and the Black Sea, that was made between 1435 and 1445 most probably during the navigations, since the author warned that "*porti et sembranzi di tera non sono tratte niuna da la charta, ma sonno tochte con mano, et vegiute cholli occhi*" (the ports and land features are not taken from the charts but were determined by visual observation)¹⁵. After navigating on the Mediterranean for more than 25 years, the life of Grazioso Benincasa changed unexpectedly because of a fact that was not uncommon in those waters. He was in fact robbed of his ship and cargo and he was marooned on land in the vicinity of Tunis, by a group of pirates, almost all of them Ligurians. He reached Genoa and presented his appeal to the Governing Council (Signoria) in the hope, which proved to be useless, of recovering his loss. During his two-year stay in the Ligurian city, he perfected the art of cartography, and produced his first two works.

He never went back to the sea and continued with his new activity first moving to Venice, then to Rome and finally to Ancona, his native city, where he must have lived until his final days.¹⁶

His work consisted of making portolan charts and especially atlases that until the end of 1567 were composed of 5 tables representing respectively the east Mediterranean, the central Mediterranean, the west Mediterranean, the European Atlantic coasts from Jutland to the Iberian

¹⁵ Spadolini E., Il Portolano di Grazioso Benincasa, in "La Bibliofila", 1907-1908. Pp. 58-62, 103-109, 205-234, 294-299. 420-434 e 460-463.

¹⁶ Emilliani M. Le carte nautiche dei Benincasa, cartografi anconetani, in Boletino della Societa Geografica Italiana", 1936. Pp. 485-510. Spadolini., op. Cit.

Peninsula and finally the European Atlantic and African coasts from the Iberian Peninsula to West Africa.

After 1468, the geographical cartographic knowledge of the coasts explored by the Portuguese was developed to such an extent that it became necessary to introduce a new table to contain it.

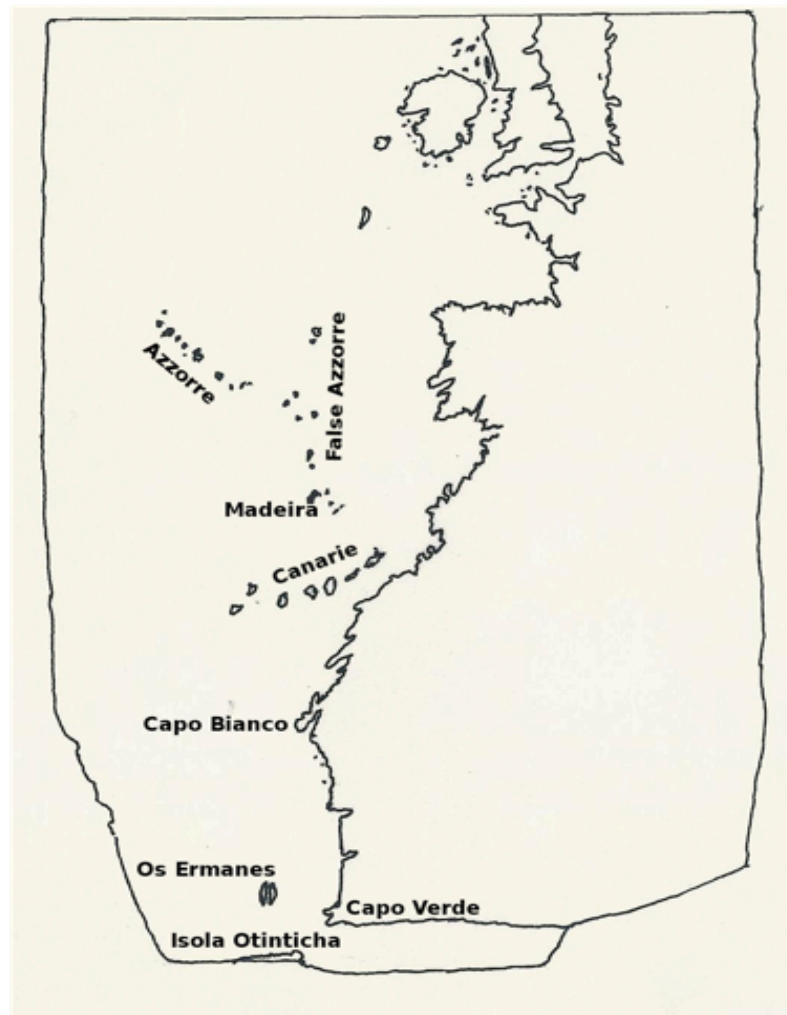


Fig. 3, Andrea Bianco, London 1448.

The Atlas conserved within the British Library of London contains a sixth chart (fig. 4) that represents a new outline of the African coast to the end of the River of Palms (rio de Palmeiri), probably the river Sherbro in present day Sierra Leone, the extreme locality that was explored during the time of Henry the Navigator. Near the left corner at the top, a group of 11 islands can be seen: this is the first cartographic representation made of the Cape Verde Islands. The four most eastern islands bear the names given by the first discoverers: *sal*, *boavista*, *maio* and *san Iacomo*.

The work dated 1468 is signed and dedicated to the illustrious doctor and politician Prospero Camulio but it fails to identify the location where it was composed. Anyway, it seems worth sharing the opinion of those who think that it

was made in Venice, because in that same year he completed two other works in that city.

In Venice, Benincasa could have gathered information that he needed regarding the most recent explorations of Alvise da Cadamosto who left Portugal in 1463 and then returned to Venice, his homeland, where, between 1464 and 1465, he devoted himself to preparing a report of his travels with Antoniotto Usodimare, of his second voyage and of that of Pero da Sintra.

Benincasa must have also received support from other sources. In fact in his report, Alvise da Cadamosto mentions only four islands (the most eastern of the archipelago), while on the chart other islands still appear further from the coast. Antonio da Noli probably explored these around 1462.

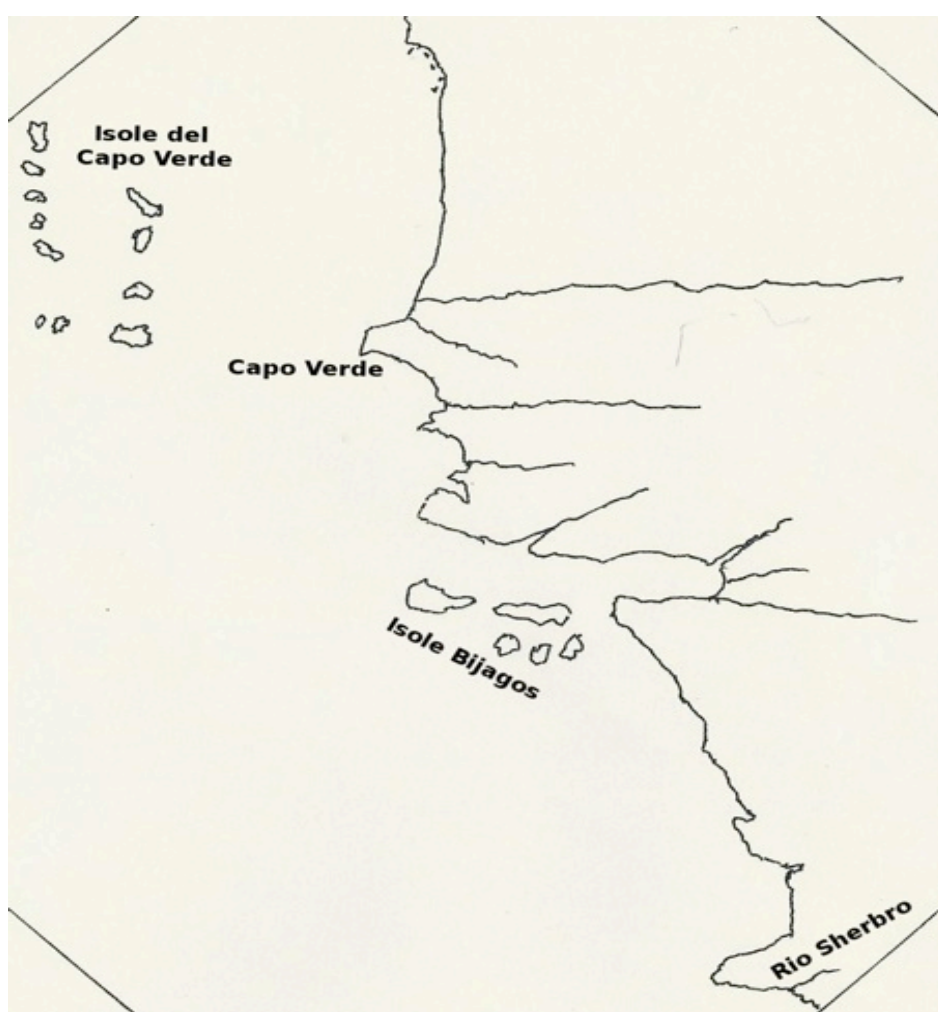


Fig. 4. Grazioso Benincasa, [Venice], 1468.

By that time, the archipelago had been firmly established and settled. It is correctly represented on successive maps, as an example, the chart of the Atlantic conserved in the Biblioteca Estense di Modena, which is considered to be the oldest specimen of a Portuguese map that has come down to us. The chart is anonymous and undated but is thought to have been made before 1482, because on the coast of

the Gulf of Guinea the castle of Mina does not appear, which was constructed in that year.

Also the so called "Columbus Map"¹⁷, which has been attributed, with hardly any basis, to the great navigator, but which represents the world on the eve of the discovery of America, makes reference to the archipelago of Cabo Verde with a legend that refers to their discoverer: *Hec Insule vocantur italic sermon Cavo Verde, latino veero Promontorium Viride, que invente sunt quodam genuense cuis nomen erat Anthonius de Noli, a quo ipse insule denominante sunt et nomen adhuc retinent inventoris*.¹⁸ ("These island that we call in Italian Cavo Verde, in latin *Promontorium Viride* (Green Promontory), were discovered by a Genoese whose name was Antonio de Noli, by whom the same inslands were named and they still retain the name today").

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI, in order to avoid eventual conflicts with four papal bulls that were executed in different times, drew a demarcation line between the Spanish and Portuguese spheres of influence; such a line had to pass 100 leagues west of the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands.

The Portuguese protested, thinking that the Spanish pontiff would have deliberately damaged their interests. They also claimed that, as the two archipelagos were not on the same meridian it would have been very difficult to draw with certainty, the demarcation line. However, in the following year with the Treaty of Tordesilhas, the representatives of the countries agreed to a new line passing 370 leagues to the west of the Cape Verde Islands.

With the Age of the Great Discoveries, the archipelago was not only an important base on the route to the East and West Indies but it had now become the point by which the earth would be measured: it was the center of the world.

¹⁷ Biblioteque Nationale de France. Res. Ge. AA 562.

¹⁸ Barozzi P. I genovesi al servizio del Principe Enrico, in LUZZANA CARACI I. (a cura di), *Le Americhe annunciate*, Reggio Emilia 1991.

Antonio de Noli, the Official Discoverer and First Settler of the Cape Verde Islands

Prof. Dr. Lourenço Gomes, Prof. Researcher University of Cape Verde

SUMMARY:

Introduction

1. A review of Cape Verde historiography before and after national independence on 5 Jul 1975
2. Clarification of some of the doubts about the discovery and or re-discovery of the Cape Verde Islands based on more accurate references about the official discoverer, Antonio de Noli
3. The involvement of Antonio de Noli and the first settlement of the Cape Verde Islands

Conclusion

Introduction

This study, which is focused on the involvement of Antonio de Noli in the discovery and settlement of the Cape Verde Islands, begins with a review of the course of Cape Verdean history before and after national independence on 5 Jul 1975.

The text also shows that Antonio de Noli; a 15th-century Genoese mariner; is the name referred to in the Portuguese Royal Chancellery document dated in either August or September 1460 as the discoverer of the eastern islands of Cabo Verde, including the island of Santiago, which is the main island of the archipelago. The settlement of the archipelago began on this island in the previously mentioned document that refers to Antonio de Noli as the first settler. At that time according to this text, 12 islands had been found [...], five of them by Antonio de Noli during the life of Prince Henry, these being: Santiago, Sam Filipe, Mayas, S. Christovam and Sall, which are part of Guinea [...]¹⁹.

¹⁹ Royal Letter made by D. Afonso V to Infante D. Fernando on 3 Dec 1460. In: *Historia Geral de Cabo Verde (HGCV) - Corpo Documental (CD) Vol. I Instituto de Investigações Científica Tropical (Lisboa) - Direcção Geral do Património Cultural (Cabo Verde) 1988 pp. 15-16.*

The discoverer was then described as a Genoese and a nobleman, who came to the Kingdom of Portugal with two ships and a barinel (small ship). The same record indicates that his brother Bartolomeu de Nolle and his nephew Rafael de Nolle²⁰ also came with him.

Diogo Gomes, a Portuguese navigator who had been exploring the coast of Guinea at this time, alludes to “Antonio”; when referring to the same expedition in which both navigators participated; in the following manner: “Antonio de Noli was the first to return to Portugal with his caravel and [...] asked the King (el Rei) for the Captaincy (Administrative area) of the island of Santiago [...], noting, that [...] el Rei gave it to him and which he kept until death [...]”²¹.

What is curious about this story is that nowadays most researchers have raised doubts about the dates and navigators who were involved in the discovery of the archipelago of Cabo Verde.

Regarding the involvement of Antonio de Noli in the settlement of the island of Santiago, Artur Teodoro de Matos, A Portuguese historian and eminent scholar, who devoted himself to researching the Portuguese expansion, explains that in 1466, Antonio de Noli was given the SW area of the island in Ribeira Grande that would emerge as the first city founded by Europeans in the tropics. Recently, UNESCO designated this city as a World Heritage Site.

Noli triggered the beginning of the settlement on the island of Santiago while enjoying the prerogatives granted by the Portuguese Crown. Antonio de Noli, thus became the first Cape Verdean to contribute to the role of the Cape Verde Islands in the overall geographical context in which a New World vision was being shaped throughout the period of European expansion, which began in the 15th century.

1. A review of Cape Verdean historiography before and after the national independence.

The origins of Cape Verdean history are like an example of a primary documentary heritage. Official sources being the type of documents in the chancellery are in the form of royal letters such as the grants for the islands. In one such letter, Antonio de Noli is officially recognized in 1462 as being the discoverer of the eastern islands of Cabo Verde. This document is in the Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT) in Lisbon and it is identified as being in the Chancellery of D. Afonso V.²² This document has been studied by several scholars and has been published in modern times in the Corpo Documental da Historia de Cabo Verde.

Another type of documentation that has served to confirm the history of Cabo Verde can be found in the 15th-century geographic maps, with emphasis here on the

²⁰ Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães-«Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa» Vol. III, Lisboa: Edições Cosmos s/d pp. 288-289. According to Godinho, this exposure is based on an examination that Wielder made on a map of Andreia Bianco in 1448 and in the writings of Azurara, Cadamosto and Damião de Gois.

²¹ Perreira, Gabriel-«As Relações de Diogo Gomes». In: Boletim de Geografia de Lisboa, 17^o Serie nº5, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1899, pp.272.

²² ANTT Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, Livro 1^o fl.61.in HGCV-CD, pp. 17-18.

map of 1445 or 1448, which is associated with a supposed knowledge of the Cape Verde Islands by the navigator Vicente Dias, thereby becoming a possible discoverer of the islands in 1445. The referenced map is referred to by a drawing of a strip of land extending out over the Atlantic which is named “*ixola otentiche*” (Authentic Island) and completing the cartography work: “*Cartas das Ilhas de Cabo Verde*” (Maps of the Cape Verde Islands) when Valetim Fernandes compiled cartography data, dated 1500-1508 based on elaborate drawings mainly by contemporary cartographers. This map became known in modern times by Antonio Fontoura da Costa, who published it with the help of the Agencia General das Colonias in 1939²³.

Contemporary chronicles, such as is the case of those that are written by Gomes Eanes de Azurara, an official chronicler who accompanied several 15th-century Portuguese expeditions to the coast of Guinea, there is one that is titled: “*Cronica de descobrimento e conquista da Guineia*”²⁴, consists of another type of element that contributes to a documentary base that analyzes the first moments of the history of Cabo Verde. In the case of the chronicles of Azurara, they were written up until 1466 and were published based on an existing manuscript in the National Library of Paris, with notes, a glossary and an introduction by Jose Braganza. For later time periods, namely the 18th century, the works of Lucas de Sena, stands out from the others. In the 18th century it is possible to find some well-preserved manuscripts in the National Historical Archives of Cabo Verde, in the coffers of the Secretary General of the Government (SGG) and in other archival sources, mainly in the Arquivos Historico Ultramarinho (the Overseas Historical Archives) in Lisbon. Some valued manuscripts which represent a primary source for the study of the history of this archipelago can be found in the back of the old Secretaria de Estado da Marinha o Ultramar (SEMU) -Direcção Geral de Ultramar (DGU) 3^a Repartição-Cabo Verde.

For the same time period and afterwards, in addition to the contemporary documentation, the town halls, already had a tradition of preserving the documents, as was the case with the city of Praia, which would allow them to draw up the proceedings (registers) and other texts that allows for the reconstitution of history with a local character.

The Cape Verdean historiography also registers important contributions for its knowledge of the past by those who are considered to be classical Cape Verdean historians. The writings of Christian Jose de Senna Barcelos are considered to be the most prominent work in this category during this time period. His work was published for the first time in 1889. It has been treated as a work of global character and comprehensive in time. It consists of seven volumes, one of which is dedicated exclusively to the index that deals with the other volumes. The title of this work is: *Subsidios para a Historia de Cabo Verde e Guine* (Contributions for the History of Cabo Verde and Guinea).

²³ Fontoura da Costa, Antonio-*Cartas «As Ilhas de Cabo Verde» de Valentim Fernandes*, Lisboa: Agencia Geral das Colónias, In: 1939 pp56/7

²⁴ AZURARA, Gomes Eanes de «*Crónica do Descobrimento e conquista da Guineia*», Capitulo LXIV, segunda o manuscrito da Biblioteca Nacional de Paris, modernizados com notas, glossários e uma introdução de José Bragança, Lisboa: Textos de Historia nº4 s/d pp.97-99.

During the period before and after that of S. Barcelos, there were other distinguished scholars of Cape Verdean history with works of a lesser scope, but nevertheless very important, for example, there is Joao da Silva Feijo, who has among other works, an economic analysis about the Cape Verde Islands, which is dated 1797, then there is Jose Joaquin Lopes de Lima, who published: "Carta hydrografica do archipelago de Cabo Verde" in 1844, which includes some historical aspects about the Portuguese possessions in West Africa, West Asia, China and Oceania. These writings were produced by order of the government of her Majesty, the faithful, Senhora (Lady) D. Maria II in 1844.

Other prominent names are: Antonio Travasso Valdez with his work titled, "West Africa: Noticias e considerações", published in 1864, Jose Carlos Chelmicki and F. A. Varnhagen with his work that was published in 1841 under the title: "Corographia Cabo Verdiana ou descrição geographica-historica da Provincia das ilhas de Cabo Verde, Antonio de Paulo Brito with his work titled: "Subsidios para o estudo da corographia da ilha de Santiago published in Lisbon around 1890. Without being redundant, we are including the works of Antonio Pusish, with emphasis on his work: "Descrições hidrograficas das ilhas de Cabo Verde", published in modern times with notes by Antonio Carreira.

In the 20th century, there was also fertile ground for the historiography of Cabo Verde, as can be seen by several works which were included in the Portuguese historiography by Luso authors, others were made known in an isolated manner by Cape Verdean distinguished scholars in both cases, besides many other researchers with works about Cape Verdean themes of a geographic nature, as well as disclosing other aspects of Cape Verdean history. Some of the authors in this category are: Manuel Murias, who wrote, "Cabo Verde-Memoria Breve", which was published in 1939, by the Agencia Geral das Colonias; Ilidio do Amaral, with his monumental work: "Santiago de Cabo Verde-A Terra e os Homens" (Santiago, Cabo Verde-the Land and its People) published by the Junta do Ultramar in Portugal in 1964 and with the modern publication of the new University of Cabo Verde; Ribeiro Orlando: "Primordios da Ocupação das ilhas de Cabo Verde", Lisbon. Faculdade de Letras da Universidad de Lisboa in 1955, Orlando Ribeiro with his vibrant title about Cabo Verde: "A ilha do Fogo e as suas erupções", published by the Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, in Lisbon in 1960; Teixeira da Mota, with an important text about the five centuries of cartography in the Cape Verde Islands, In: Revista Garcia da Orta, Vol. 9, published in Lisbon around 1961 by the Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, Francisco Xavia Faria, with «Os Solos da Ilha de Santiago», published in Lisbon in 1970. There are also prominent works of a historical and anthropological nature, written by the priest, Antonio Brasio, which were published in the 1960's and 70's.

After national independence in 1975, Cape Verdean historiography found fertile ground for its development with the creation of the Cape Verdean Literary Institute (Instituto Cabo Verdiano do Livro, which was succeeded by the Biblioteca Nacional e do Livro and with the initiatives of the Direcção Geral da Cultura (General Administrator of Culture). Among other vocational institutions for the promotion of Cape Verdean history, there are: The Institute of Investigations and Cultural Heritage (Instituto de Investigações e Parimonios Culturais). And with the

beginning of a reasonable scientific production which is reflected in the works of Antonio Carreira, we would like to highlight some of his works: “Cabo Verde: Social Classes, Family Structure, Migrations” (Cabo Verde: classes sociais, estrutura familiar, migrações”, published in Lisbon in 1977; “Migrações nas ilhas de Cabo Verde” (Migrations in Cabo Verde), published in Praia by the Literary Institute of Cabo Verde and the EEC (The European Economic Community) in 1983; “Cabo Verde: Formation and Extinction of a Slave Society”, which was first published by the Cape Verdean Literary Institute in Praia in 1983.

Of equal importance, there have now been many new works published since national independence. There are several scholars who have produced important works, such as: Daniel Perreira with an important study titled: “Linhas da Historia de Urbanização da Cidade do Mindelo” Published in 1984 by the Fundo Nacional de Desenvolvimento (FND), another work is by Elisa Andrade, “As ilhas de Cabo Verde: da Descoberta a Independencia Nacional”, published in Paris in 1996, then there are the works of Maria Adriana Sousa Carvalho, with a brilliant work titled: “Objecto e a Escrita”, published locally by the National literary Institute of Cabo Verde in 2004.

Along with the works of contemporary Cape Verdean authors, there are some distinguished Portuguese authors who have dedicated passages to Cabo Verde in their studies in the scope of imperial Portuguese history. Some of these distinguished authors are: Pedro Dias and his: “Historia de Arte Portuguesa no Mundo” (The History of Portuguese Art in the World),- published in Spain in 2000; Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, who had a collection of documents about the Portuguese expansion, with subsequent publications in Lisbon; Luis de Albuquerque, one of the greatest names in the historiography of Portuguese expansion; Antonio Henrique de Oliveira Marques, with his noteworthy publication, “Historia de Portugal” (The History of Portugal), in 1997, in which he emphasized Cabo Verde in volumes II and III. Then there is the important work of Joao Nobre de Oliveira, published in Macau in 1998, which touches on the writings of Cape Verdean writers during the period 1820 – 1875.

Finally, the greatest contribution of Cape Verdean authors after Cape Verdean independence is undoubtedly, the written project of the “Historia Geral de Cabo Verde”, which was a joint effort organized by Portuguese and Cape Verdean historians that include the names of Antonio Correia e Silva, Iva Cabral, Maria, Manuel Torrão, Ilidio Cabral Baleno, among others under the tutelage of the eminent scholar of “The History of Portuguese Expansion.” Luis de Albuquerque who was later replaced by Maria Emilia Madeira Santos and this work has already been published in three volumes between Lisbon and Praia by the Institute of Scientific Tropical Investigations (IICT) of Portugal and more recently by The Investigative Institute of Cultural Heritage (IIPC) of Cabo Verde.

In the group of scholars regarding the history of Cabo Verde, we find the famous Portuguese historian, Artur Teodoro de Matos, who coordinated an important work entitled, “A Colonização Atlantica” (The colonization of the Atlantic), which dedicates a good part of one of the volumes to Cabo Verde and was published in Lisbon in 2005. Joao Lopes Filho, has written about 20 works, a good part of which

cover various themes about the history of Cabo Verde, the most important which is titled: “A Ilha de S. Nicolau - Cabo Verde formação da Sociedade e Mudança Cultural” in two volumes, published in Lisbon in 1996 by the Secretary General of the Ministry of Education.

Lately, a significant group of young scholars have been publishing articles here and there, where the author of this text has been involved. Some of their writings have already been published.

2. Clarification of some of the doubts about the discovery or rediscovery of Cabo Verde based on more accurate references regarding the official discoverer - Antonio de Noli.

In analyzing the problems with respect to the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands, there is a tendency to take on a context in modern times, which has been well studied in a European perspective and began in the first half of the 15th century when all efforts were being directed to reaching new lands on the route of expansion from the Old Continent. In the Portuguese example, this context stands out in the first phase of exploration along the African coast.²⁵ It is thus, in this context that Antonio de Noli appears as a protagonist in the discoveries of the archipelago of Cabo Verde and the settlement of the first occupied island. It is also in this context that the name of the navigator appears before any of the other potential protagonists in the discovery in the 15th century.

In seeking clarification about the question of the Cape Verdean discovery concerning the protagonists prior to 1460, beyond the hypothesis about any previous knowledge before the 1400's by Arabs or navigators of other origins, there is a curiosity by certain authors who have discussed several possibilities.

In the first instance, there is the possibility that one or more islands in Cabo Verde may have been discovered by Vicente Dias in 1445. He was a navigator during the time of Prince Henry and he was also a merchant in 1445. This possibility is based on written available references, with respect to him, which is emphasized in the Chronicle of Guinea, by Gomes Eanes de Azurara.²⁶ This chronicle gives an account of the previously mentioned merchant / mariner, who participated in a great expedition, organized by Lanzarote de Lagos and Alvaro Freitas in the year 1445 according to the following [...], “And so it was: that being with them, Vicente Dias, of whom we have already spoken, “that the Guinean was wounded (*sounds like there was a skirmish with indigenous people in the area and one of the natives was wounded-the term Guinean was used to describe natives of this particular region of Africa*) on the beach of the Nile (*River of Nile was used during this time period to describe the Senegal River which was believed; according to legend; to flow into a lake in the vicinity*)”

²⁵ CHAUNU, Pierre- Expansão de século XIII ao XV. S. Paulo: Pioneira, 1978 p. 113.

²⁶ AZURARA, Gomes Eanes de – «Crónica do descobrimento e conquista da Guiné», Capitulo LXIV, segundo o manuscrito de Biblioteca Nacional de Paris, modernizada com notas, glossário

where the Nile River originated) had set out on an expedition with the others and when night came he was unable to locate the others, meanwhile he sailed alone.²⁷

According to Albuquerque, in spite of an initial hesitation, V. Dias was one of the men in the fleet who decided to continue the navigation after completing the commercial objective, which was initially proposed by everybody, to reach the coast of Arguim.²⁸ According to the description given by the chronologist, V. Dias had navigated alone during a lapse of time that is not clear and without any references to this navigator... The navigator did not see any land; however, in an effort to suggest that there was a possibility that Dias could have been the discoverer of one of the islands (this being probably the island of Santiago) in 1445 in the course of this bold navigation, it would have been made outside of any previous plans. Those who defend this theory turn to the geographic map of Andreia Bianco of 1445 or 1448. In this map it is possible to note the design of a strip of land jutting out over the Atlantic which appears to be incomplete and with local defects but can be read as: *ixola otinticha* (ilha autentica or authentic island).²⁹

One can imagine that in 1447 when A. Bianco departed Italy by sea en route to England, he would most likely have made a stop in Lisbon³⁰ or even earlier in a port in the Algarve (probably Portimão),³¹ which would have been customary at that time. He could have been informed of the maritime activity and gathered some information that could have been used in the translations for some of his map drawings one or two years later. This information could have included the existence and location of the referenced *ixola* whose recognition could have been made by Dias.

It's possible to say that Dias could have sighted at least one island during his separation from the boats of Lanzarote and Freitas in 1445 and as such could be considered as the real discoverer of the archipelago in this year, even if he had only sighted it or he might have sailed around one of the islands, nevertheless, it must be

²⁷ The "Chronicle of Guinea" (in the above extract) which was written by Gomes, Eanes de Azurara up until 1466; with emphasis in a given passage; alludes to two captains and Vicente Dias during His activities along the coast of Guinea, but it doesn't make any reference to the Cape Verde Islands. No extracto acima destacado da «Crónica da Guiné» de Gomes Eanes da Azurara e escrita até o ano de 1466, a dado passo alude aos dois capitães e Vicente Dias nos seus feitos nas costas da Guiné mas não há nenhuma referência as ilhas de Cabo Verde.

²⁸ ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de – «O descobrimento das Ilhas de Cabo Verde». In Op. Cit. p.27.

²⁹ Cf. Carta Geográfica de Andreia Bianco de 1445 ou 1448 in which it is possible to see a drawing of a land area that juts out over the Atlantic, with an inscription: authentic island. This is a part of «Cartas das Ilhas de Cabo Verde», that Valentim Fernandes could have compiled between 1506 and 1508, beginning with elaborate drawings, mainly by cartographers of the era. In this case, Andreia Bianco had a background for doing drawings of the sea, which Portuguese navigators began to do at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century. This map became known in modern times by Antonio Fontoura da Costa, whose work «Carta das Ilhas de Cabo Verde» by Valentim Fernandes, 1506- 1508 was published by the Agencia Geral das Colonias in 1939, pp. 56 -57.

³⁰ PEREZ, Damião – «Historia dos descobrimentos portugueses. Coimbra»: 1960 pp. 134-137.

³¹ AZURARA, Gomes Eanes «Crónica do descobrimentos e conquista». Lisboa. Textos Editora s/d. pp. 249-250.

stated that a chronicle of Azurara³² which was written for the years up until 1466 doesn't make any reference to the Cape Verde Islands and according to Fontoura da Costa, who published the work, "Maps of the Cape Verde Islands" (Cartas das ilhas de Cabo Verde) by Valetim Fernandez (1506-1508) he doesn't allude to any knowledge of any document during the time of D. Henrique, whether in the national archives or abroad, that refers to any discovery of these Atlantic islands by Dias.³³

Another theory is the hypothesis that other navigators who followed Dias, revolves around Luis Cadamoste, Diogo Gomes, Antonio de Noli and Diogo Afonso, in trying to determine which one of them was in reality, the first to anchor in the islands. An argument in favor of one or the other depends on a wide variety of reasons and opposing arguments; therefore, there are several arguments that try to explain the discovery of Cabo Verde. These arguments are not only in disagreement relative to the data and dates, but also in the identification of the possible discoverer, which prevails until today. There seems to be an absence of a unanimous opinion about this material within the research community at this time.

In the case of Cadamosto, he attributes the discovery to himself, to the first islands³⁴ on his second voyage in 1456. This data brings to the debate the writings of the, "Relação das Navegações", written by the navigator and published in Portuguese and Italian, where it is written [...] "on the third day I saw land, shouting 'Land Ahoy'". We were astonished to see land here, because we didn't believe that there could be any land in this area and sending two men to look around, they discovered two large islands [...]. I sent 10 men well armed with crossbows to go on the island and in a part where it was mountainous and high; and to see if they could find anything [...]. They found nothing, except that it was uninhabited [...].³⁵

"Il terzo giorno vista de terra e gridando tuti terra, terra multo si maravigliammo perche no sapevamo che aquella parte fosse terra alcuna e mandando due uomini d'alto, discoperirono due grandi isole [...] mandai dieci uomini bem in punto d'arme e belestre, che dovessero montar la detta isole de una parte dove era montuosa e alta per veder se trovamono cosa alcuna, o se vedevano alte isole: andarono altro sennon che l'era desabitata [...]."

³² This text is published under the direction of Jose de Braganza, Lisbon: Texto Editora, s/d, pp. 249-250. This text emphasizes the raids on the coast of Guinea in 1445 and in the final section, it gives the names of the navigators; Vicente Dias, Lançarote and Alvaro de Freitas, without ever mentioning anything at all about the Cape Verde Islands.

³³ FONTOURA, da Costa, A. – «Cartas das Ilhas de Cabo Verde» de Valentim Fernandes 1506-1508, Lisboa: Agencia Geral das Colónias, 1939, p 7.

³⁴ CADAMOSTO, Luís de – Navegações de Luís de Cadamosto. Lisboa: Instituto para Alta cultura MCMXLIV., pp. 70-74.

³⁵ Reported in «Relação das Navegações de Luis de Cadamosto», published for the first time in 1507 by Francisco Montebolo in which Cadamosto claims to have discovered two large islands during his second voyage to the coast of Africa in 1456, which he named Boa Vista and Sant'Iago, which gives the impression that these were unknown in Portugal. Of equal importance he tells us that when he went ashore on the largest island, he found it to be uninhabited. The referenced text is an off print of the «Descobrimentos portugueses: documentos para a sua historia», published and prefaced in modern times by J. Martins da Silva Marques em 1944.

It was the descriptions as reported by Cadamosto and the area where he anchored, with the details apparently absurd, which led Fontoura da Costa,³⁶ the corroborator for Luis Albuquerque³⁷ to consider them to be fantasy and improbable, realizing that if the eastern islands would have been discovered in 1456, D. Henrique would have had them occupied immediately or at least the island of Santiago, which he obviously never did. However, in spite of everything, they belonged to him according to the letter of royal grant, December 3, 1460 at the last stage of his life (end of August or September 1460). This document, which is in the Chancellery, will be discussed later on. Based on the information as analyzed by Fontoura, one is inclined to believe that Cadamosto and his friends didn't discover any eastern islands in Cabo Verde.

In the case of Diogo Gomes, he is a navigator who unites some defenders in favor of the idea that he was the discoverer of the eastern islands.³⁸ Two narratives of this navigator refer to the discovery of Guinea and the Canary Islands, the Azores, Madeira and Cabo Verde. He describes these voyages and adventures to Martim Behaim, a German cartographer (also known as Martinho de Boemia in Portugal) and he wrote about them in Latin. Valetim Fernandes transcribed them in his collection of reports about the discoveries and establishments in Africa and Asia that represents an old manuscript, which is in the library of Real de Munique.

In this report of the voyage,³⁹ the narrator has affirmed that he sailed out to sea from the River of Barbecines (Rio dos Barbecines) at 13°50' N Latitude in the company of Antonio de Noli, each in his own caravel, they saw islands in the ocean after 2 ½ days of sailing; they decided to approach them. Now here is the part that is of interest to Cape Verdean scholars [...], "and as my caravel was faster than the other one, I arrived first on one of the islands, I saw white sand and it appeared to be a port where I anchored and Antonio de Noli did the same. I told him that I wanted to be the first to touch land and so I did. We saw no sign of humans and we named it the island Santiago, the name which is still used to this day [...]. We immediately went to one of the Canary Islands; we called it Palma and after this we went to the island of Madeira. At this time, I was impatient to go to Portugal but the wind was against me and it carried me to the Azores.

Antonio de Noli, however, remained in Madeira and took advantage of a more favorable wind and arrived in Portugal before me. He asked the King for the Captaincy of the island of Santiago, that which I had discovered and the King gave it to him and he kept it until death [...]."⁴⁰

³⁶ FONTOURA da Costa, A. *Cartas das Ilhas de Cabo Verde*...p. 13.

³⁷ ALBUQUERQUE, Luís de, «O descobrimento das Ilhas de Cabo Verde». In: *Historia Geral de Cabo Verde* Vol. I, pp. 31-35.

³⁸ FONTOURA, da Costa, «A. Cartas das Ilhas de Cabo Verde» p.16.

³⁹ PERERIRA, Gabriel – «As Relações de Diogo Gomes». In: *Boletim de Geografia de Lisboa*, 17º Serie, nº5. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1899, pp. 272-78.

⁴⁰ From "Relações de Diogo Gomes acerca dos descobrimentos da Guiné, ilhas dos Açores, Madeira e Cabo Verde", published by Gabriel Pereira. The narratives of the voyages and adventures would have been given by Diogo Gomes to Martinho de Boémia and he would have written them in Latin. Valentim Fernandes transcribed them in his «Coleção de Noticias sobre os descobrimentos e estabelecimentos dos portugueses na África e na Ásia».

The report by D. Gomes indicates that it was he who discovered the islands in 1460, probably on the first of May, the first of the islands was discovered and along with his comrades (A.de Noli), named it Santiago. In the opinion of Fontoura da Costa, D. Gomes arrived in Portugal before the death of D. Henrique on 13 Nov 1460, which is one more reason that we must emphasize the Royal Letter (Carta da Doação) of 3 Dec 1460, which does not refer to the discovery of D. Gomes. Based on this fact, it seems that any likelihood that he would have been considered to be the real discoverer appears to be a moot point.⁴¹

And based on what was written in the reports of the navigator, it was Antonio de Noli who arrived first in Portugal (before Gomes) and appeared before the King naturally as the discoverer and therefore received the Captaincy of Santiago. On the other hand, regarding the narratives of Gomes, there is the report of Joao Barros, inserted in the work of Vitorino Magalhães Godinho and whose extract shows the following: [...] “At this same time we also found that they discovered the islands that we now call Cabo Verde, by Antonio de Noli, Genoese by nationality and a nobleman and for some vexation due to problems with his homeland, he came to this Kingdom in two naus (large ships) and a barinel (small ship), accompanied by his brother, Bartolomeu de Nolle and his nephew Rafael de Nolle. The Infante gave them a license to discover and 16 days after they left Lisbon, they went to the island of Maio; for which they gave it its name, for it was on the first of May that they arrived there, and on the following day it was Santiago (SANT’Iago) and Sam Filipe that they discovered and that now bear the names of these saints [...]”.⁴²

Considering the data that has been discovered, it seems that Antonio de Noli must be considered the “official discoverer” of Santiago and the eastern islands of the archipelago of Cabo Verde, while in the company of Diogo Gomes as mentioned previously, until it can be proven otherwise.⁴³

Regarding the discovery of the western group of islands, the royal documentation eliminates any possible doubts as to who discovered them and consecrates this achievement to Diogo Afonso; the the Infante D. Fernando’s scribe; between 1461 and 1462. Apparently they weren’t all discovered in the same year. The islands that make up this group are: S. Nicolau, the Islets Branco and Raso, S. Vicente and S. Antão are cited together with the name of the scribe as the discoverer in a Royal Letter (Carta da Doação) of 29 Oct 1462 and in the following manner: [...] “According to this letter we are making it known that the Infante D. Fernando my precious and beloved brother tells us that a Gonzallo Fernandes, a resident of

⁴¹ This is a curious commentary by Gabriel Pereira in respect to the personality of Diogo Gomes: considering him to be quite boastful about his achievements and always placing himself above everybody else with a strong tendency to discredit his comrades. In: PEREIRA, Gabriel, *As Relações de Diogo Gomes* p. 269.

⁴² The report of João de Barros contradicts the narratives of Diogo Gomes. Here we reference the report of João de Barros published by Magalhães Godinho – «Documentos sobre a expansão portuguesa» Vol. III. pp. 288-289.

⁴³ In accordance with the text of the Letter of Privileges of D. Afonso V, dated 12 Jun 1466, where it is noted that among other aspects, there were difficulties in establishing settlements in the first four years as well as the steps taken by the King designed to overcome those limitations. In: Brasio, Antonio – «Monumenta Missionaria Africana». 2 Series Vol. I, pp. 431-435.

Tavira, on returning from fishing in Rio de Ouro [...] had seen an island and due to bad weather, he was unable to investigate it. So my brother sent someone to investigate the area and look for signs that they gave him and he didn't find anything. And for whatever reason he wanted to make another investigation and we allowed him to do so and it was in this way that we have given him the other seven islands that his scribe, Diogo Afonso, found in Cabo Verde."⁴⁴

3. The involvement of Antonio de Noli in the settlement of Santiago.

In referring to the texts of the 15th century, regarding Cabo Verde, particularly in respect to whether or not there were any signs of human beings on the islands which were reported by any of the supposed discoverers of the first islands of the archipelago as is the case with the Venetian; Cadamosto in his navigation report, we look back on the report of his landing on that which he considered to be the biggest island [...], "I sent 10 men well armed with crossbows to go on the island in a part where it was mountainous and high; and to see if they could find anything [...]. They found nothing, except that it was uninhabited [...]."⁴⁵

Thus one can see that any references in the navigator's writings regarding their arrivals, shows an absence of any human presence. The reports of D. Gomes which are dated 1502-1508 give the same impression and we refer to them here: "[...], We named the island Santiago and that is the name that is used until today. There was an abundance of fish there. On land, however, there were many strange birds and fresh water rivers. The birds awaited us without fleeing, so we killed them with sticks. There were a lot of ducks there. There was also an abundance of fig trees, but they were not like our fig trees; because our figs grow near the leaves and these figs all grow near the trunks, from the bottom of the trees to the top. These figs are all over the bark. There are great numbers of these fig trees and we also saw an abundance of pasturage."⁴⁶

Both the narratives of Cadamosto and Gomes report the non-existence of human beings upon their arrival, and such texts are known to the majority of researchers.

For all that, there have been suspicions of the truthfulness of these reports previously presented.⁴⁷ Such objections are considered weak, given that there is a need for a credible submissive documentary basis to confirm the traditional data that has been presented. This problem is usually related to the question of whether

⁴⁴ In accordance with the Royal Letter of 29 Oct 1462, which indirectly attributes the discovery of the western group of islands, that probably includes the island of Brava, to Diogo Afonso. Published by Senna Barcelos, «Subsidios para a Historia de Cabo Verde» p. 31.

⁴⁵ Comparing the documentary annex stated in third place, on the subject of the evidence found by the Venetian navigator in how the islands were found to be uninhabited when he arrived there.

⁴⁶ PEREIRA, Gabriel – «As Relações de Diogo Gomes». In: Boletim de Geografia de Lisboa, 17^o Serie, 1898 – 1899.n^o 1. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1899, pp. 272-78, cujo texto foi apresentado agregado em 4^o lugar, para ilustrar que Diogo Gomes no seu encontro com as ilhas não tece nenhuma consideração a respeito de presença humana.

⁴⁷ ANDRADE, Elisa - «As Ilhas de Cabo Verde: da descoberta á independência nacional». Paris: Harmattan 1996, pp. 33-34.

or not there were any signs of human existence that would have taken place under some kind of human settlement. This theory is suspect even in the last instance, since clinging to their defenders in the justification of eventual settlements would not be a very solid argument.

Antonio Carreira attempted to clarify the origins of the settlements of the Cape Verde Islands, in spite of that which has already been discussed, affirming that they appointed Portuguese noblemen, some Genoese and Spanish or their descendants and some Flemish who were sent there by kings and princes and black slaves brought over from the rivers of the coast of Guinea.⁴⁸ In this manner, it gives the impression that the island society has for its base in generic terms, individuals of two origins: Europeans and Africans (black slaves and probably free Africans who were involved in the process in a voluntary way) who came from the coast of Guinea.

Regarding the involvement of Antonio de Noli in the settlement of the island of Santiago, the priest; Antonio Brasio, emphasizes that it was this navigator who received compensation for his accomplishments and was granted the SW part of the island of Santiago, although we have not seen any documents to verify it. But according to the author, *“that Genoese arrived in Santiago to take possession of one of the two Captaincies in the year 1462 while being accompanied by some family members and Portuguese from the Alentejo and the Algarve.”*⁴⁹

Teodoro de Matos refers to the settlement of the island of Santiago in the first century of colonization as being quite irregular, confirming that the SW zone with the established center in Ribeira Grande was awarded to Antonio de Noli.

Ribeira Grande, according to the author, was the area that had the best living conditions -- most notably, an abundance of water, as can be confirmed by the ruins today.

CONCLUSION

In this work we have stressed the importance of the first great moment in Cape Verdean history and the facts that relate to the discovery of the islands with emphasis on the involvement of Antonio de Noli in the service of the Portuguese Crown in the discovery of Cabo Verde.

It can be noted, that throughout this presentation there is a complex and problematic discussion as regards the discovery of the archipelago of Cabo Verde considering the different possibilities that have been discussed by some researchers in an attempt to distance themselves from some of the considerations regarding some of the data of protagonists who have been involved in the discovery of one or more of the islands.

⁴⁸ CARREIRA, António Op. Cit. p. 295

⁴⁹ BRASIO, António - «Descobrimento, Povoamento, Evangelização do Arquipélago de Cabo Verde». In: Revista Studia nº 10, Julho de 1962. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962, pp. 83-97.

We can still verify that in the context of all of the efforts made in reaching new lands on the route of expansion from the Old Continent, that the Genoese appears as the protagonist in the discovery of Cabo Verde, who is believed to be the “official discoverer,” distinct from the other enterprises that were attempted previously by the Portuguese Crown.

Finally, we can rationalize that if there are any doubts about the data and the protagonists, who can make the problem, seem somewhat complex; when relating to the settlements and referring to Antonio de Noli, they are much more difficult to be refuted. The fact is that it was he who was granted the first Captaincy and received the SW zone of the island of Santiago with the established center in Ribeira Grande. This was contracted to him for the purpose of establishing new settlements and colonizing the island in exchange for the customary prerogatives of the era.

Returning to Italy. Descendants of the De Noli family in Cesena and Genoa 1497 – 1881

By Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Ph.D. (Karolinska Institutet, Sweden); Dr. Carla Rosetti (Bologna University), *Istituzione Biblioteca Malatestiana di Cesena, Sezione conservazione e ricerche*; and Dr. Ilaria Brigati (University of Genoa), at the Genoa Diocesi

Captain Antonio de Noli brought with his Cape Verde discoveries, laurels to his Genoese nation⁵⁰ and honour to the ancient City and Castle of Noli from where his family it is said originated⁵¹. His Colonial governorship of Cape Verde facilitated further discoveries, bridging civilizations of four continents. His historic contribution to the modern world has now reached the 550th anniversary.

Introduction

Navy Captain Antonio de Noli, a specialist in cartography, left Genoa around 1450 together with his brother Bartholomew (a lawyer in Genoa) amid a political conflict of the nobility factions in dispute for the Genoa government. Previous alliances of the de Noli, for instance the one with the Casa Fieschi years ago under the rule of Duke of Guarco (see below), had compromised their stand in Genoa by 1450. The brothers de Noli obtained political asylum in Portugal, however there are historic reports that they first went to Sevilla, in Spain⁵². In Portugal, Captain Noli took navy commitments for the exploration of West Africa on behalf of Prince Henry (*Enrico El Navegante*). A main reason for Antonio de Noli interest in seeking asylum in Portugal was the School of Sagres, an oceanographic, navigation and map-maker institution founded by Henry the Navigator and in which Antonio de Noli reputed knowledge and experience would have been well received.

In their way to exile from Genoa, the brothers de Noli armed a small naval expedition of three vessels and apparently they did not set sail from Genoa itself but likely from the Port of Noli, or alternatively from Voltri. These harbours are located some 70 (Noli), respectively 20 (Voltri) kilometers from Genoa. Solely the political situation for the brothers de Noli in Genoa would be a sufficient reason explaining that they would have sailed from elsewhere. In addition, there are indications that the Port of Genoa was at the time not operative. For instance, it is an historic fact

⁵⁰ João de Barros, "L'Asia". Republished by Vincenzo Valgrisio, Venice, 1562

⁵¹ Della Cella, "Famiglie Di Genova". Parte II, D.E.F.G.I.L.M.N.O. / MDCCLXXXIII

⁵² De Palencia, Alonso. Cronica de Enrique IV. Lib. VI, cap V

that a mayor Genoese navy expedition that took part in the Barcelona war of 1466 also sailed from the port of Noli.

Most of the explorations and military or commercial missions of Antonio de Noli under Portuguese flag during the decade 1450 took place in the West coast of Africa. It is reported that Antonio de Noli's son accompanied him in combat during one of these campaigns (Gambia).⁵³

Around 1661 the brothers de Noli discovered the first *sotovento* islands of Cape Verde. After his discoveries in Cape Verde, Captain Antonio Noli and his brother Bartholomew began the first settlements of the - at the time - uninhabited Cape Verde Islands, bringing population from both Portugal and continental Africa. The Africans were taken either in captivity cohorts, as slaves, or - in lesser number - as free Africans. He also initiated the sugar and cotton plantations in Cape Verde⁵⁴ and which would constitute the main section of the family fortune both in Cape Verde and overseas. In true, the Santiago Island even became an important center of the infamous slave trade in the Atlantic communications of Portugal.⁵⁵

The family de Noli in Cape Verde - headed by Governor Antonio de Noli - gave in its turn origin to two separate lineages, geographically referred. One lineage which remained in the Islands and later in Portugal,⁵⁶ and another originated by the return to Italy of a part of the Governor's family. This research paper focuses mainly in the re-migration of this part of the De Noli from Cape Verde back to Italy.

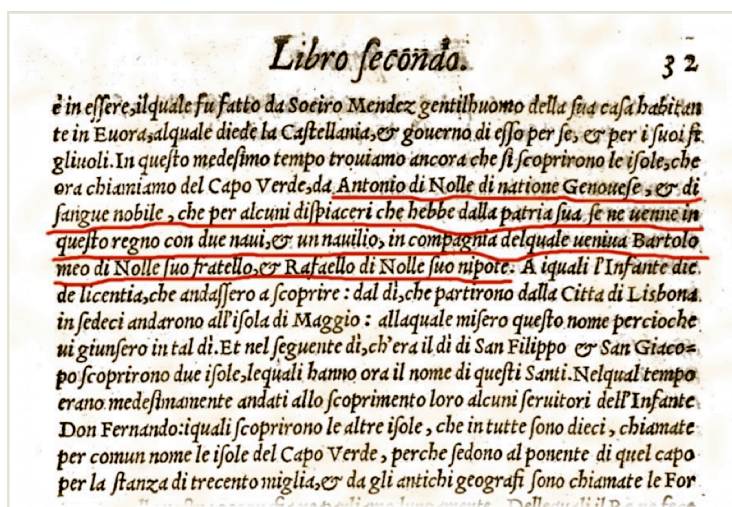


Image 1. João de Barros, "L'Asia". Ca. 1539

⁵³ Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira (ed. 1945), Vol XVIII, p. 836

⁵⁴ Birmingham, David. Trade and Empire in the Atlantic, 1400-1600. Routledge, London, 2000. Pages 19-20

⁵⁵ Contarino Sparta, Luciana L. La persistencia de las tensiones identitarias Afroeuropeas: El caso de de la Comunidda de Cabo Verde en La Argentina. *Afroeuropa: Journal of Afro-European studies*, Vol 1, No 1, 2007

⁵⁶ Described in detail by Prof. Trevor Hall in his research work "Governor Antonio de Noli and His Family in the Cape Verde Islands and Portugal: Discoverers, Colonizers, and Governors, 1460-1704" submitted to the Scholarly Conference "Da Noli a Capo Verde", Noli, Italy, 2010.

Family origins

The King of Portugal João II issued April 8 1497 the renowned *carta regia* regulating the succession of the governorship of Cape Verde. His Royal Letter referred to Antonio de Noli as being from Genoa and named him "Antoneo genovês". In line with testimonies and sources of the epoch, João de Barros - "the most trustworthy historian of the Portuguese voyages"⁵⁷ - wrote in 1539 that the navigator was "a national from Genoa and of noble blood" ("*di natione genovese, et di sangue nobile, che per alcuni dispiaceri che hebbe nella patria sua se ne venne in questo regno con due navi...*") (Image 1). This passage from Barros book "L'Asia", written ca. 1539 and published 1552,⁵⁸ would be the oldest known Italian-published source on this issue [1]⁵⁹.

Different geographic-history studies and independent original research have along the centuries established Genoa as the place of birth of Antonio de Noli, for example Dumoriez (1762) [2], Spotorno (1823) [3], Thomas (1860) [4], Bernardes Branco (1895) [5], Hamilton (1975) [6], Diffie and Winius (1977) [7], Irwin and Wilson (1999) [8], etc. Furthermore, Ferrada de Noli (2010) [9] identified in 2008 an ancient manuscript of Dalla Cella at the Library of Genoa [10], which distinctly evidences these three aspects:

a) The navigator is placed among the de Noli family members of Genoa at the period. Concretely, the author positioned in the manuscript the entries of Antonio Noli exactly between those of Giacomo de Noli ("un de XII-Anziani del Comune sotto il Duce Nicolas de Guarco")⁶⁰ and "altri Nobile Noli"⁶¹;

b) The manuscript refers to him as "Peritissimo Piloto Genovese. Fu' il primo che scoperse le Isole di Capoverde"⁶²; and

c) The origin of the Noli family is explained in the following conspicuous terms "l'origine si può supponere dalla piccola Città o Castello di Noli"⁶³ [9].

⁵⁷ Spotorno, G. B. "Christopher Columbus and His Discoveries". Treuttel & Wurtz, London, 1823.

⁵⁸ João de Barros, "L'Asia". Republished by Vincenzo Valgrisio, Venice, 1562.

⁵⁹ According to Giovanni Battista Spotorno: "Barros, the most trustworthy historian of the Portuguese voyages, (Asia, chap. 2 and 3) whose works comes down to 1539, and who had before him relations of the discoveries made by his countrymen". In: Spotorno, G. B. "Historical Memoir of Christopher Columbus and His Discoveries". Treuttel and Wurtz, London, 1823. Page xxiii. Professor Dr. Giovanni Battista Spotorno adds (page xxv) that Antonio Noli was "fellow citizen" of Christopher Columbus.

⁶⁰ "One member of the Twelve-Elderly (Genoa) Council under the lead of Duke Nicolas de Guarco". On the impact for the navigator's family of this participation in the Nicolas de Guarco government – which also included the Fieschi – see Ferrada de Noli M. A biographical study of Governor Antonio de Noli. *Research Bulletin of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society*, Vol. 1, Nr. 3 (2010).

⁶¹ "Other Noli nobleman"

⁶² "Expert Genoese navigator. He was the first discoverer of Cape Verde"

Concluding, Antonio de Noli was a Genoa-born navigator and the family de Noli have its ancient origins in the City or Castle of Noli.

The year of birth of the navigator is reported being around 1420. However the well-defined and unambiguous identification of his place of birth being Genoa, and the relatively clarity on the year of birth, the whereabouts around the actual death of Antonio de Noli has remained a mystery. It is said that Governor Antonio de Noli's demise would have occurred in 1497 in Ribeira Grande, Cape Verde. But it has not been found at this date any document sustaining this assumption⁶³.

The aftermath of the Lusitanian-Castilian war of 1475-1479 and its consequences for the de Noli family

In reality, the happening of year 1497 refers to the inauguration of the 2nd governorship in Cape Verde, which was *nominally* given by the Portuguese king to Antonio de Noli's daughter Branca de Aguiar. In truth, the governorship (*Capitania*) went to her Portuguese husband, the nobleman Dom Jorge Correia de Souza, *fidalgo da casa real*.

According to the Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira, Antonio de Noli had also a son ⁶⁴ [11], but the Portuguese were not in the line of accepting a takeover of the Cape Verde governorship by a de Noli male descendant. This for several reasons, being the main a reason of national security for Portugal's geopolitical interests and empire design. Cape Verde was indeed a strategically centre both militarily and logistic, and relevant to the slave trade [9] [12].

During the Lusitanian-Castilian war of 1475-1479 the Castilians militarily occupied Cape Verde and the Islands ceased by act of war being Portuguese possessions. However, the Portuguese appointed governor, the Italian (Genoese) Antonio de Noli, remained governor of Ribeira Grande keeping also his privileges as lord-proprietor. Eventually, after the truce and the signing of the Treaty of Alcáçovas, Cape Verde returned to the Portuguese kingdom. We do not know with certainty what happened with Antonio de Noli after these events, or with the Italian members of his family that followed him in this war intermezzo apparently siding by the Spaniards (Castilians). But for reasons of their national security, the Portuguese crown had surely saw to resolute measures to prevent that such blunt breach in their national and colonial territorial integrity would happen again.

⁶³ "It can be supposed that the origin is from the small City of Noli or the Noli Castle

⁶⁴ The reporting in the carta regia of 8 April 1497 on why the governorship of the Island became vacant ("vaga") does not say "por morte" (by dead) of Antonio Genovez but "por parte". *Parte* indicates instead "leaving". It has also put forward that a passage in the document to this regard had been "forged" a posteriori. Further details of this information from Dr. Trevor Hall (historian and PhD from John Hopkings University) in Ferrada de Noli M. (2010) "A biographical study of Governor Antonio de Noli". *Research Bulletin of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society*, Vol. 1, Nr. 4. Pages 105-123

⁶⁵ According to Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira [(ed. 1945), Vol XVIII, p. 836], which mentioned "a son of Antonio de Noli". In the *carta regia* of 1497 regulating this sucesion on favour of daughter Branca and husband, it is also argued for that end that Antonio Noli did not have a son with the "right" to inherit.

King Joao II had to find the formula as to revert the royal granting of the lord-proprietor privileges to the de Noli family (given with inherit rights), which was the act of a previous king in the beginning of the sixties. Otherwise, a son of de Noli would have not only inherited the sugar and cotton plantations but by had as well claimed the rights of proprietor-lord system by which he would remain in economic *and* internal political control of nearly half of the Island. To this, added the control over the flourishing slave trade passing the Island.

The Royal Letter (*carta regia*) plot of April 8 1497

The inheritance right were thus taken away from Noli's son by a "coup de plume" in the *carta regia* of April 8 1497, in a juridical formula issued *concomitantly* with the reporting on that Antonio de Noli had left "vacant" the captainship of the Island (see down below).

The plan considered a) to give the governorship to the nobleman Jorge Correa de Souza, chosen by the King himself among the closest to the royal house. b) In order to overcome the solid previous royal edicts on Antonio de Noli's possession privileges, this Correa de Souza was to marry Branca de Aguiar, the daughter of Captain de Noli, in "*sociedade conjugal*" (common possession rights). Branca was, as Correa de Souza, also Portuguese born and coming from a noble Portuguese family close to the monarch. The royal house thus arranged the marriage. c) In its turn, to enable Branca de Aguiar the possibility of inherit the de Noli titles of possessions *and* the captainship (given to Antonio Genovez by the previous king) it was an *essential* condition to first declare the juridical inexistence or inability of the heir/heirs first in line. In clearer words, these have imperatively to disappear.

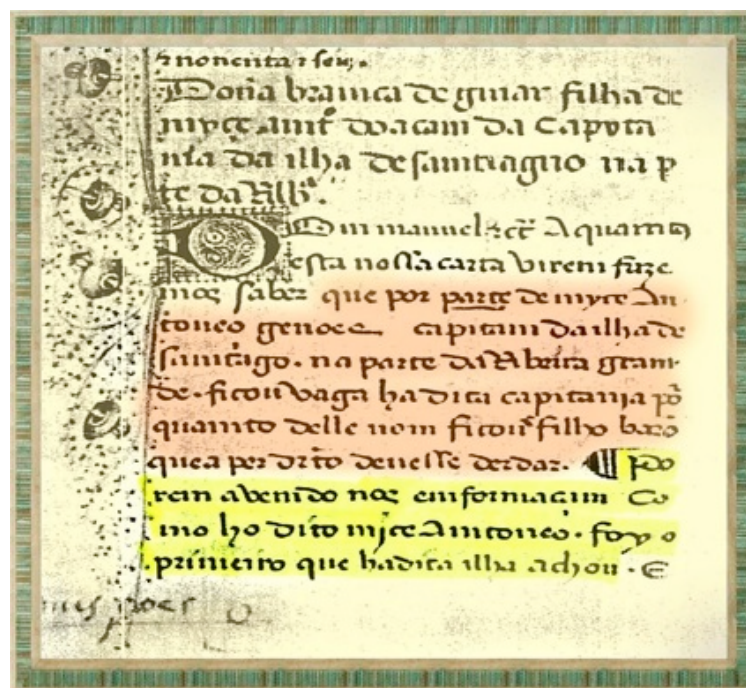


Image 2. The Royal Letter (Carta Regia) of 8th April 1497. Detail

The act of depriving Antonio de Noli's son the *actual* right to inherit – by course of declaring him “absent” - was thus a *sine qua non* move for the monarch and which enabled the transferring of the juridical possession of the de Noli's properties to the Portuguese *fidalgos* Correa de Souza - through the arranged marriage with Branca de Aguiar – and thus giving them back to Portugal.

That is why the *carta regia* of April 8, 1497 (Image above) begins by specifically stating that “by the part of lord-proprietor Antonio (Noli) Genoes, governor of Santiago Island, in the part of Ribeira Grande, was that governorship vacant because in there was no male descendant that could inherit by law”⁶⁶.

The text [detail here below] does not deny the existence of Antonio de Noli's son, neither the son's right to inherit in case he would – or could – have remained in Ribeira Grande. What instead the text only let us know is that at the opportunity in which Governor Noli left the captainship of the Island “vacant” – or more truthful, at the opportunity in which the *carta regia* plot was elaborated (1496-1497) - there was no son of Antonio de Noli that remained in the Island. Did he share the same fate of his father? Have he been also ousted to exile abroad, as the brothers de Noli were from in 1449 when they went from Genoa to political asylum in Portugal?

Both alternative translations of the introductory passage of the royal letter of April 8 1497 “*por parte de myce Antoneo genovês. . .ficou vaga ha dita capitania*” - namely alternative A: “by the part of Antoneo Genovês ... was the captainship vacant”, and alternative B: “by the depart of Antoneo Genovês ... was the captainship vacant” - hide however a true account of what really happened with Captain de Noli and his family. One thing is in any case pristine clear: the document does not express that the governorship was left vacant because of the dead of Antonio de Noli. It is written “por parte”, not “por morte”. This equivocally reading (“por morte”) has been equally misleadingly repeated book after book, possibly as the result that their authors failed to check the original document. And it is from these unchecked sources that it has wrongly been reported 1497 the year of Antonio de Noli's demise.

And if the document meant that Antonio de Noli “had left” the Ribeira Grande governorship vacant because of “leaving” the Island, where did he then go? Did he “left for heavens” or otherwise? Or left for Spain, etc? Which authority had taken the decision compelling him, his son and family to leave not only the governorship but also every property and rights they had in Cape Verde? Or did the de Noli by their own take that decision in order to save and take away their accumulated fortune of gold?⁶⁷ In sum, what actually happened to Captain Antonio de Noli after 1480, was he killed, imprisoned, made “disappeared”, or was he and his family exiled?

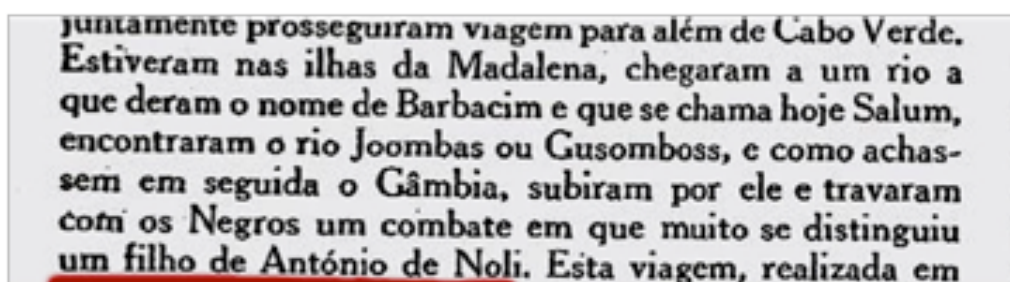
As seen above, already since the late 1470s (when de Noli “sided” with Portugal archenemy, the Castilians) the monarch had potent reasons for his apprehension towards the question of the governorship succession in Cape Verde, estimating

⁶⁶ “por parte de myce Antoneo genovês, capitam da ilha de Samtiago, na parte da Ribeira Gramde, ficou vaga ha dita capitania, porcuamto delle non ficou filho barõ que a per direito deuesse derdar.”

⁶⁷ The profits of the cotton and sugar plantations

Antonio de Noli's son in this context as a clear risk. And there were further reasons for this fear.

In actual fact, the above-mentioned son of Antonio de Noli had accompanied him in the exploration campaigns in Gambia 1456 and "distinguished by his participation in combat"⁶⁸ [11]. Because of these campaigns took place before 1460, and Antonio de Noli left Genoa 1449, it is estimated that this son would have also born in Genoa



juntamente prosseguiram viagem para além de Cabo Verde. Estiveram nas ilhas da Madalena, chegaram a um rio a que deram o nome de Barbacim e que se chama hoje Salum, encontraram o rio Joombas ou Gusomboss, e como achassem em seguida o Gâmbia, subiram por ele e travaram com os Negros um combate em que muito se distinguiu um filho de António de Noli. Esta viagem, realizada em

Image 3. Report on explorer Antonio de Noli's son in Gambia 1456. Published in *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Ed. 1945, Vol XVIII, p. 836

By the 1480s, he would have developed political preparedness of his own while assisting his father – as customary at the time – in the government of Cape Verde. This would pose a greater threat to the political and military control of the Portuguese in the Islands than that of sister Branca. Branca de Aguiar was already half Portuguese and born in the noble house of Aguiar, reputed at the time close to the monarchy's interests. Her marriage in the house Correia de Souza, arranged by the crown, was just the ultimately piece in the King's design to secure the governorship of Cape Verde loyal to his empire.

Nevertheless, it has been natural for some historians to assume that the all process of leading to the second governorship of Cape Verde was a simple and classical succession of power like in "father dies, daughter inherits" ("King is death, long life to the Queen"), it did not occur that way. Beyond the juridical formalities and palace innuendos that have been mentioned concerning this issue, the main determinant reason for the King was one of national security. The king kept well reminded that Italian Captain de Noli and his Italian family, and for that part all members of the numerous community of Genoese that habited the Island together with Africans and Lusitanian cohorts, were by nationality not strict bounded to the Portuguese crown. The next governor it *has* to be a Portuguese *fidalgo* among his own.

As it is not documented when exactly Antonio de Noli left the governorship of Cape Verde (the process initiated by the king of finding a spouse for Branca de Aguiar, the wedding preparations, etc. must have taken quite some period before their installation as the 2nd governor took finally place in 1497), this had led to

⁶⁸ "um combate em que muito se distinguiu um filho de António de Noli". Source; *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, Ed. 1945, Vol XVIII, p. 836

speculations on his whereabouts during that period between the late 1470s and the 1480s, or afterwards. It is also said that in later years Antonio de Noli went transitorily with his fortune of solid gold to Spain. But it is not a plausible explanation that he would have anew sought shelter in Seville- as it is reported he did previously his Cape Verde discoveries - or elsewhere by the Castilians.

As mentioned above, a paramount factor was also that the de Noli brothers were still banned from Genoa. Besides, precisely at that times the Genoa government prepared war with Barcelona (hostilities initiated 1466). A factual-based episode, which confirms this animosity of the Genoa rulers of that time towards De Noli, is given by the following. Navigator Antonio de Noli had been taken prisoner by Spaniards (Castilians) reportedly in the late 1470s. These Castilians asked Genoa to pay a ransom for Antonio Noli's liberation. However, Genoa did not paid for Noli's liberation but instead he was rescued by the Portuguese and re-installed in his productive sugar and cotton plantations [13].

We mention the above episodes in the following context:

- The relatively hostile situation towards Antonio de Noli in Portugal circles after the intermezzo amid the Lusitanian- Castilian war 1475-1479 in which Antonio de Noli continued being Governor of Cape Verde under the Castilians;
- Concomitantly, neither it was to the Castilians fully acceptance that Antonio de Noli did considered himself bounded to Spain, but instead continued allegiance to his Italian nationality, and as such remained neutral in that war;
- The already described hostile situation in Genoa for the navigator and his family. They had been expatriated from Genoa amid political circumstances (and for which they sought political asylum by the Portuguese Prince *Henry the Navigator* already in 1450) that were still prevalent during the 1480s.

With this almost no-where-to-go scenario in the Iberia peninsula for the significant-ones in the inner family of Antonio deNoli by the end of the fourteen hundreds, the alternative of returning to Italy and at the same time avoiding Genoa and the Genoa allies appeared as the best of the options, if not the solely one. And because of the political and geopolitical reasons mentioned above, neither a scenario of forced political exile it can be ruled out.

From Cape Verde back to Italy

Not all the de Noli descendants left totally Cape Verde or the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, some descendants which are believed to correspond to lineages originated or adjudicated to Bartholomeu or Raffael de Noli have been recorded in recent research as surviving in those areas⁹⁹. Yet, a manuscript from the Malatestiana Library in Cesena, Italy, shows the presence of a son of Antonio de Noli ("*Simone de Antonio Noli Biondi*" See below) in Cesena at the end of the 1400's. In order to avoid Genoa, from where the de Noli brothers had been ostracized, the de Noli party sailing off from Cape Verde or from the Iberia Peninsula would have cruised

⁹⁹ Prof Trevor Hall, op. cit.

instead to Rimini (Cesena's port). Cesena, also a city in northern Italy, is located in Emilia-Romagna, a Region also neighbouring Liguria.

It is although not clear whether the former governor himself would have made this sailing to Rimini, as it is still possible that he found his dead in Cape Verde or in the Iberia Peninsula. He was although only in his late sixties by the end of the 1480s. Nevertheless, as documented below, our research can only ascertain that “a son of Antonio de Noli” – which would well match with the navigator’s son named by *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*⁷⁰ - appears reported for the first time in the manuscripts of Cesena at the very end of XV century. It is also documented that this Antonio de Noli’ son (Simone)⁷¹ and his descendants stayed in Cesena until 1574. This altogether represents about 75 years before a new generation of the de Noli – headed by a descendant who was also given the name Antonio de Noli - returned to their roots in Genoa.

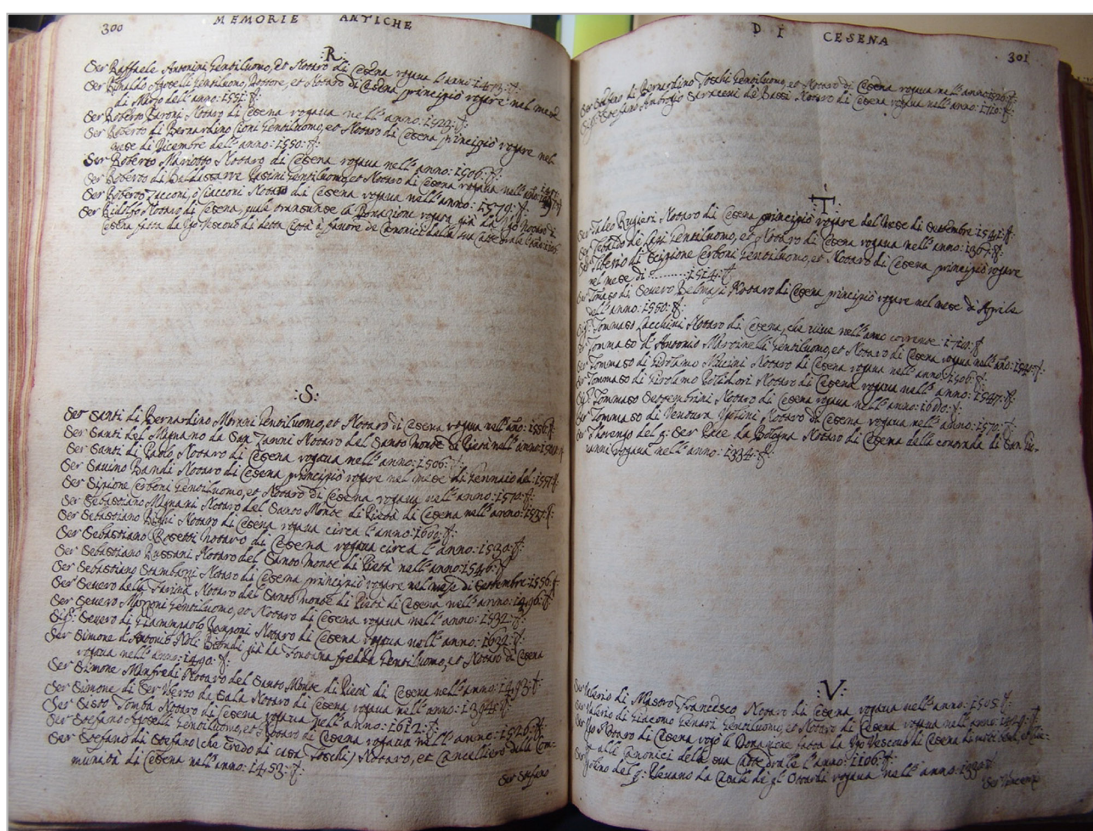


Image 4. Manuscript “Memorie Antiche di Cesena”, Bibliotheca Malatestiana, Cesena, Italy. Simone de Antonio Noli, son of Antonio de Noli, is found in page 300. The entries

⁷⁰ Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira [(ed. 1945), Vol XVIII, p. 836].

⁷¹ Our hypothesis in this regard was based in the statements as given in the above cited *Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*. Otherwise, a likely alternative fatherhood of Simone de Noli could correspond to one any another of the navigator’s family - e.g. brother Bartholomew and nephew Raphael, which accompanied him during the early Cape Verde colonization period - in the case they would have had a descendant given, as traditionally, the name *Antonio*. In fact, and characteristically, these particular names “Antonio”, “Bartholomew” and “Raphael” were found customarily repeated over the generations within the family de Noli both in the Cesena and Genoa (Valleregia) manuscripts.

correspond to year 1490 (1498), and it is the first time the name Noli appears in the Cesena manuscripts.

New historical / biographical findings would hypothetically allow alternative explanations as to whether this “Antonio de Noli” – the father of Simone de Antonio Noli – could not have been the Governor Antonio de Noli himself (or the Governor’s son reported in Portuguese sources)⁷² but instead a son of Bartholomew de Noli or of Raphael de Noli. However, this last alternative remains hypothetical on the basis that no document can sustain the actual paternity of this second-generation “Antonio de Noli” (found as member of a Council in Cape Verde)⁷³.

Again, the only document-based findings to this regard are the manuscripts evidencing that 1) “Simone de Antonio Noli Biondi” (“Biondi”, for his marriage in the Biondi family of Cesena), was a son of “Antonio de Noli”, and 2) that this De Noli family came to Cesena “from abroad” in 1480 – 1490, carrying sufficient gold as to enable them to buy seats in the government of Cesena (*Consiglio di Cesena*).

There in Cesena lived also members of the Fieschi family, the old-timer allies of the de Noli and had established themselves in positions of influence. Incidentally, the Fieschi were also banned from Genoa years after, in the aftermath of the aborted – and bloody – insurrection against the Doria, in which participated several Fieschi brothers, most prominently Giovanni Luigi Fieschi.

There is yet another possible factor in the constellation of causes behind the de Noli family’s decision for their Cesena destination. Judging from the historical facts we have so far gathered regarding the ideological profile, political preferences and participation of the de Noli in Genoa and abroad, directly or indirectly through their closest allies, it is fair to assume that they have belonged to, or sympathized with, the Ghibelline.

It has also been reported that the relationships between the brothers de Noli with the Church in Cape Verde was dramatically restrained. Lawyer Bartholomew de Noli, brother of Governor de Noli and also a plantation owner in Cape Verde, is reported to have ordered in 1464 the killing of a Franciscan fray – Fray Rogerio – allegedly for this fray, on behalf of the Church, opposed Bartholomew de Noli’s living together with a Portuguese woman outside the Catholic frame of marriage [9] [14].

Although the old state-conflict between Guelphs (supporters of the Pope rule) and Ghibellines (supporters of independent States or the State Empire) had for the vast part ceased in Italy and elsewhere Europe, oppositional factions remained at the level of cities.

It is also known that Forlì, close neighbour to Cesena and also main city in the Romagna region, had the principal concentration of Ghibelline supporters in Italy after the main Papal vs. Empire conflict had ceased. It would have been fair for the

⁷² Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira [(ed. 1945), Vol XVIII, p. 836].

⁷³ Professor Tervor Hall, op. cit.

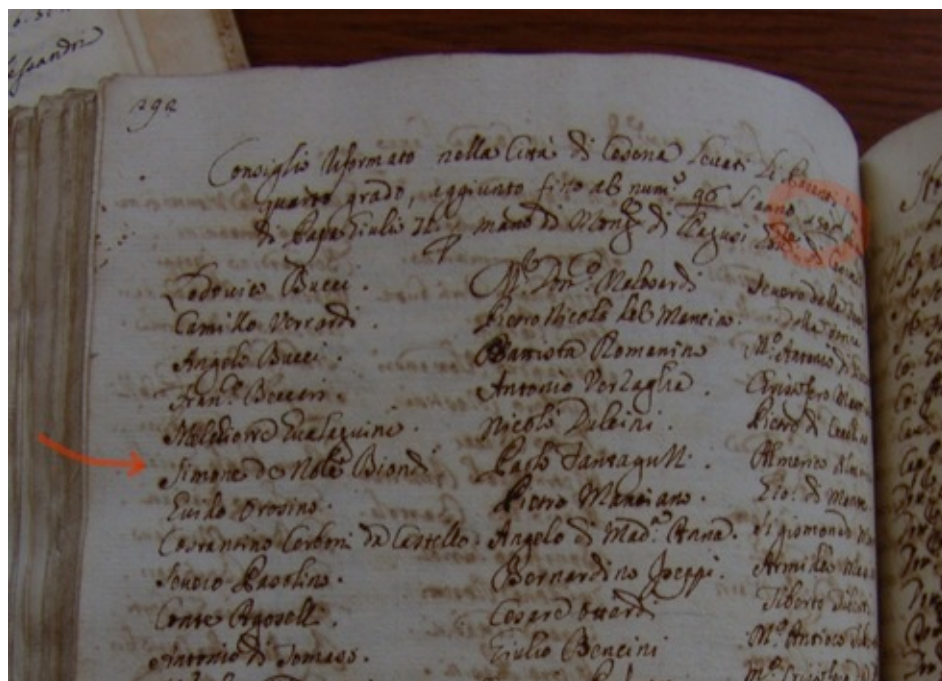
Noli to assume that they should be welcomed in Cesena, in the Forli region. Here the de Noli arrived around 1490.

A most interesting fact is that in one of the transcriptions of the family de Noli's coat of arms in the manuscripts discovered in Cesena, the family Noli is referred as "oriunda", clearly denoting that the Nolis in Cesena arrived there from an outer territory [Se Image 10, further down].

Arrival in Cesena

Several manuscripts at the Malatestiana Library in Cesena help to locate these happenings. The manuscript collection "Verdoni, Cronache di Cesena. 164.39." gives 1495 as date of the first "Antonio di Nolo" in the Cesena Council (page 295). This "Antonio di Noli" in fact corresponds to "Simone de Antonio Noli Biondi", given by this name in yet another Cesena manuscript ("Memories Antiches di Cesena", page 300).

The manuscript collection, "Memories Antiches di Cesena", places the entry date in 1490 or 1498⁷⁴ [see image 4]. In this manuscript collection the denomination used is "Simone de Antonio Noli Biondi". This distinctly indicates *Antonio Noli* (also referred in the manuscripts as *de Noli*, see below) being the father, as it was customary when writing entries at that time. Furthermore, in a later manuscript register of 1505 (manuscript collection "Memorie delle Famiglie della Città di Cesena") the son is referred with his full name *Simone de Noli Biondi* [Image 5].



⁷⁴ It could possibly read instead "1498" because of an apparently small character-segment visible in the superior vertices of the "0".

Image 5. Manuscript: “Memorie delle Famiglie della Città di Cesena” at Biblioteca Malatestiana. The manuscript indicates the son of Antonio de Noli, Simone de Antonio Noli Biondi, as Member of the Council of Cesena in 1505.

In Cesena, Simone de Noli – the son of Antonio de Noli - married into the Biondi family, also nobles of the time. To establish themselves they also used their Cape Verde gold to acquire posts in the *Consiglio di Cesena*. The purchasing with gold of the seats in the Council of Cesena for the part of the Noli is well documented in the manuscripts of the Biblioteca Malatestiana, which for instance detailed that Antonio Noli di “Treggia” became a member of the Cesena Council in 1551 by paying “scudi 150 d’oro” to the City of Cesena [image 6].

As “di Treggia” or “di Teggia” would indicate the place where the possession or territory that served as residence of that “oriunda”⁷⁵ Noli family was located, we searched after that place in Cesena and around. However, and although a carefully searching, the place “Treggia” or “Teggia” was never found in Cesena or its nearest territories in Emilia-Romagna. Thus, a hypothesis did arise on whether the manuscript could have referred to “Taglia” or “Teglia”, both localities in Liguria. But this could not explain the double “g” of the denomination in the manuscript, which in that segment was clearly legible.

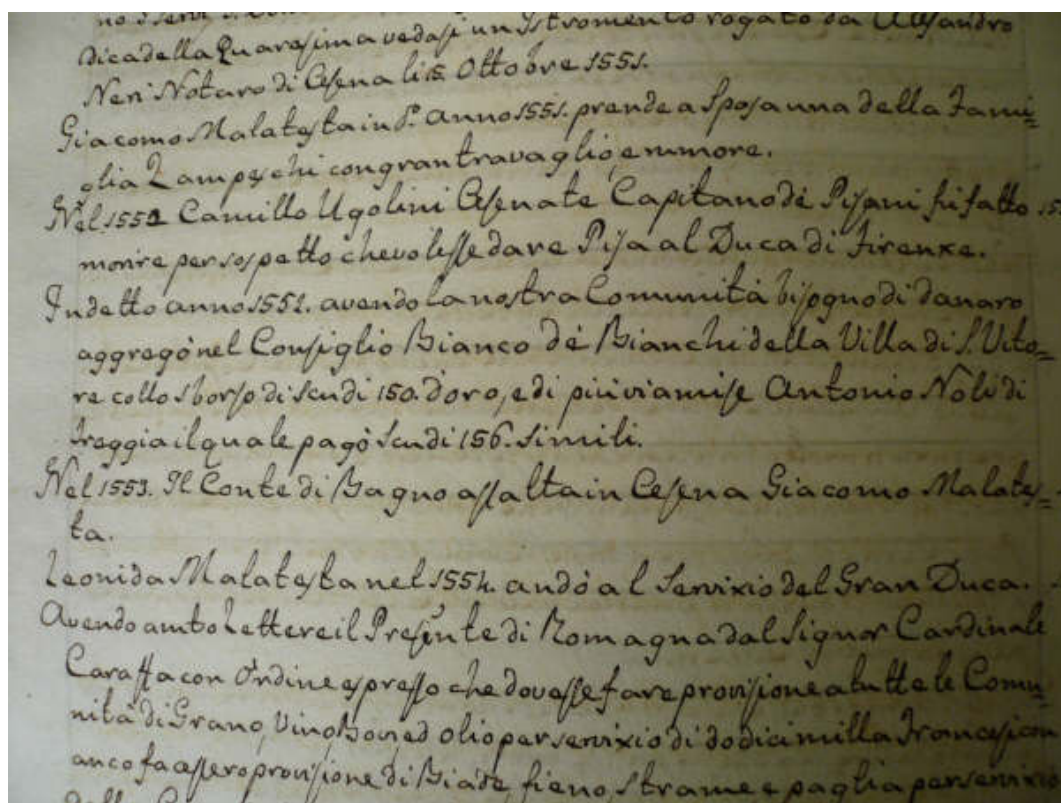


Image 6. Manuscript: Selva, “Di Memorie”, Bibliotheca Malatestiana

⁷⁵ Meaning in the context “family not from Cesena”

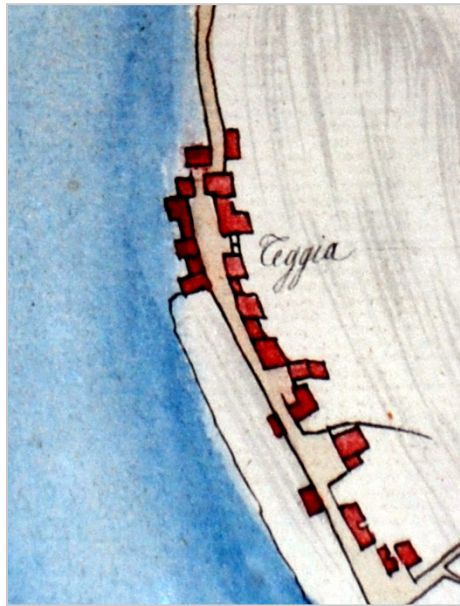


Image 7. "Treggia" and "Teggia". *Teggia* is *Teglia* in Ligurian dialect

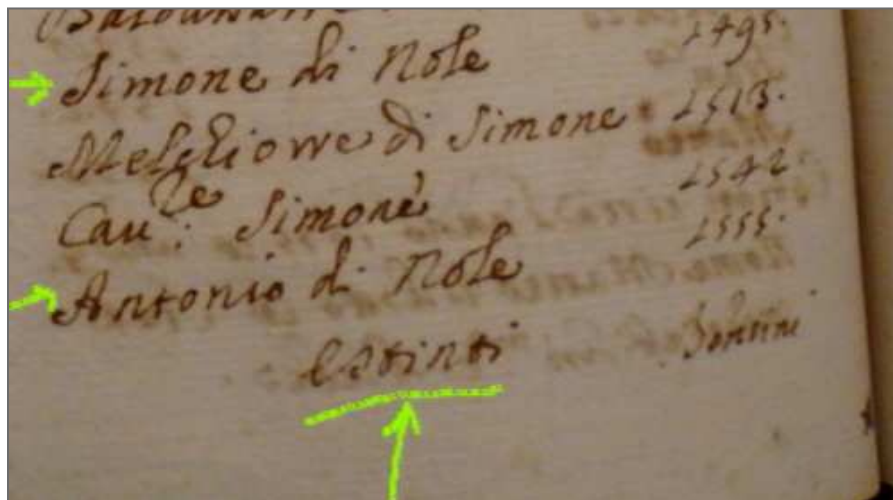


Image 8. Manuscript "Verdoni, Cronache di Cesena. 164.39" Bibliotheca Malatestiana. The manuscript reports that by the year 1574 the de Noli families of "Simone di Nole" and "Antonio di Nole" did not live in Cesena any longer (*estinti*).

Nevertheless, as late as April 2010 Ferrada de Noli identified in an old manuscript map from the XVIII century located at the City Hall of the Serra Riccò municipality in Northern Genoa ("*Carta Topografica di anonimo del XVIII secolo*") a tiny village near Bolzaneto which is distinctly named *Teggia*. The actual mark is located just about one and a half kilometers from nowadays Serra Riccò and about

three kilometers from the old hamlet Noli (a fraction of Serra Riccò). It turns out that "Teggia" (with the double "g") was actually the old name for "Teglia". All that reinforces, although not being a necessary element* - the migration hypothesis on the family de Noli "oriunda": the circuit *Genoa – Cape Verde – Cesena – Genoa*.

There in Cesena three de Noli descendants occupied a seat in the Cesena Council in the period between the family arrival to Cesena around 1495 and their departure to Genoa two generations thereafter. The first of the Noli recorded in Cesena as member of the Council is the above-mentioned son of Antonio Noli, in 1595 and 1505; amongst the second generations of the de Noli in Cesena we found two of the family as members of the Council in different periods. One was Antonio Noli di Treggia (1551); the other was the younger Antonio de Noli, starting in 1455 and ending his commitment only three years after. This, according to the manuscript "Delle cose memorabile" by Mauro Verdone, page 73. [Image 14, down below].

Eventually, the whole de Noli-Biondi family became soon thereafter (1574) reported *estinti* (extinct) in Cesena, as it is given in the manuscript "Verdoni, Cronache di Cesena. 164.39", above. In the detail of this other manuscript (See cover in Image 14) are referred two of the Noli, "Simone di Nole", starting at the *Consiglio di Cesena* in 1495, and "Antonio di Nole", which started 1555, both are mentioned among the families no longer existing as associated with the Council "fino al anno 1574" (by the end of 1574). This is indicated by the marked denomination "estinti". In actual fact had the family de Noli, with Antonio de Noli on the lead, headed off back to Genoa by 1575-1576. The most plausible reason being the imminent promulgation – after several years of deliberation – of the Genoa Constitution which finally took place in San Lorenzo, March 17, 1576 [see further below], and which in practice functioned for many as reciprocal amnesty during the long truce that ensued thereafter among the old factions and families in dispute.

The repatriation route

Emilia-Romagna (Cesena), and Liguria (Genoa), are neighbor regions. Thus it was not so problematic to figure out the route that the de Noli would have made in their emigration back to North Genoa. They most possibly used the road that at that time connected directly Rimini (Cesena's port, in Latin *Ariminum*) with North Genoa, via *Placentia* (Piacenza). The road Rimini-Piacenza existed since the Roman times - in fact ordered by Consul Marco Emilio Lepido 187 B.C. - and it was called *Via Aemilia* (*Via Flaminia Aemilia Postuma*) [map below].

In Piacenza they would have taken *Via Aemilia Scauri* in the direction to *Dertona* (Tortona), where they met descendants of friend family Frascaroli. The Frascaroli

* Even if unlikely, yet it could be still so that the similitude of "Treggia" or "Teggia" with "Taggia" in the respective manuscripts of Cesena and Genoa Serra Riccò correspond to a coincidence; that "Treggia" or "Teggia" did perhaps exist somewhere outside Cesena. But in this eventuality the place it would have been only the temporary residence of the de Noli in the area.

were at the time *Signori* at the region, and several Valleregia manuscripts on family events around the epoch indicate the association between these two families⁷⁷.

Finally, from *Dertona* down to North Genoa province following the *Aemilia Scauri*. Coming down from Tortona, the *Noli* site in Valleregia is found some twenty kilometres before Genoa.



Image 9. Travel routes in ancient Italy

From Cesena, returning to Genoa. The political scenario

By the end of the mid 1570's politics in Genoa had changed ostensibly in favour of the Noli and other families committed in older times in disputing the central power. This occurred in a long political process - not deprived of turmoil - which took several years, thus allowing the de Noli in Cesena to carefully ponder their decision.

Already in 1547 - through what was known as the "Garbo" or "Garibetto" legislation - Doria had reformed the older political ordinances of 1428. This reform intended to give more privileges to the older noble families, and this in detriment of the "nuovi nobili".

⁷⁷ One of these manuscripts from 1589 was palaeographic analysed in Cesena Feb. 2008. The experts concluded that, inferred from the analyzed text, a marriage between a Frascaroli and Angelica de Noli was a possibility (see Apendix 2).

This process towards a further consolidation of the Doria and elements of the so-called San Pietro formation⁷⁸ (mainly families of the old nobility) was contested in several occasions, and two main uprisings against the Doria occurred at the period. One was the insurrection known as “La congiura dei Fieschi” (January 3rd 1547) led by Giovanni Luigi Fieschi. The other was the conspiracy of Giulio Cybo in 1548. Both uprisings failed and were bloody revenged.

As we have already put forward, the old alliances of the de Noli with the Fieschi started under the government of Nicholas de Guarco by 1387, in which Giacomo de Noli - of the same family as navigator Antonio de Noli [10] - was a member together with the Fieschi and other noble families of that alliance [9]. The de Noli had to wait in Cesena for better times.

Nevertheless, the final promulgation of the *Costituzione di Genova*, on the 17 of March 1576 in San Lorenzo, it is regarded as the happening which mainly contributed to the ending of many old conflicts among families, and “marked the beginning of a long truce”. The de Noli seized hence the opportunity of returning safe to their homeland.

The last descendant of the navigator in Cesena, as mentioned before also given the name Antonio de Noli, appeared in consequence for the first time at the epoch - and in a role as elderly father - in a manuscript of 1587 found in Valleregia Church (Serra Riccò, in Northern Genoa) [Image 11, down below].

Again in Genoa territory

The de Noli lived then yet again in Genoa territory, and habited a distinct place still signalled with the name *Noli* in the maps of the hamlet Valleregia. With the years, the growing de Noli descendants moved to other localities in the vicinity.

In this very hamlet of Valleregia was born Vittorio Noli the 24 of April of 1881, and he was also baptized - as it did his ancestors de Noli all along since 1587, at the same *Parrocchia della Natività di Maria S.S.* in Valleregia. The Church converted the family name *De Noli* to *Noli* during the baptisms effectuated by the priest at Valleregia on the children of Stephano de Noli by the middle of XVII century.

With a retrospective departure from the generation of De Noli descendant Vittorio Noli [Image 15, down below] - representing one of the branches in this lineage of the Antonio de Noli family which arrived in Valleregia from Cesena by 1576 - we conducted 2005 and 2008 a genealogical research in Genoa Serra Riccò considering all the paternal-line back to the generation of 1586 [Images 11, 15 and 16, and Appendix 1]. Between this generation of 1587 and the generation of the above-mentioned Vittorio Noli (born 1881) and his siblings (Maria, Rosa,

⁷⁸ This is referred to the main formations that to this regard existing at the time in Genoa. The “San Pietro” formation (for they used to assembly in the *Portico di San Pietro*) of the older nobility, and the “San Luca” (*Portico di San Luca*) formation corresponding to the newer nobility.

Giuseppina, Carmelo, Luigi, and Antonio G. Noli) there were twelve generations” [16].

Added the three generations of the ancestors de Noli which flourished in Cesena from 1495 onwards, and added the generation of the brothers Antonio de Noli and Bartholomew de Noli and their children by the times of their Cape Verde discoveries and early colonization, and all the generations of their descendants up to this date, the lineage departing from the navigator up to here had reached 19 documented generations along a period of nearly six hundred years.

Besides the Valleregia branch investigated in this study (the “Vittorio-Noli 1881 retrospective lineage”), there are other existing or extinguished Noli family branches in Genoa, especially in Genoa Serra Riccò, derived from the common root of the 1580’s. We would like to dedicate this study to each and all of them.

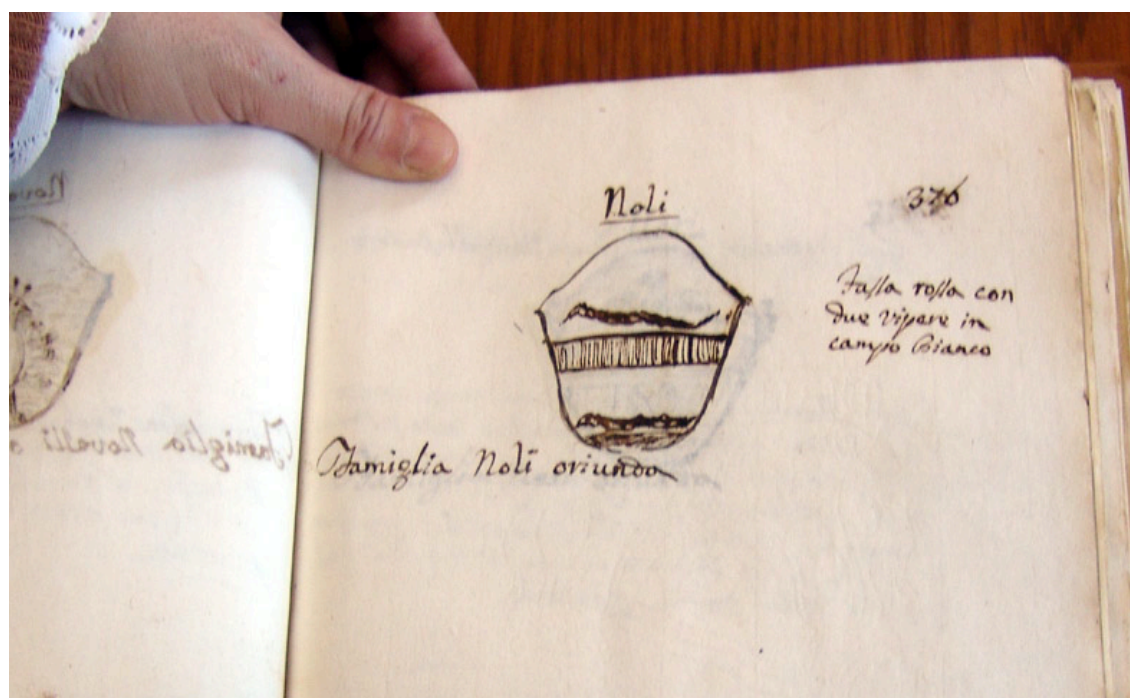
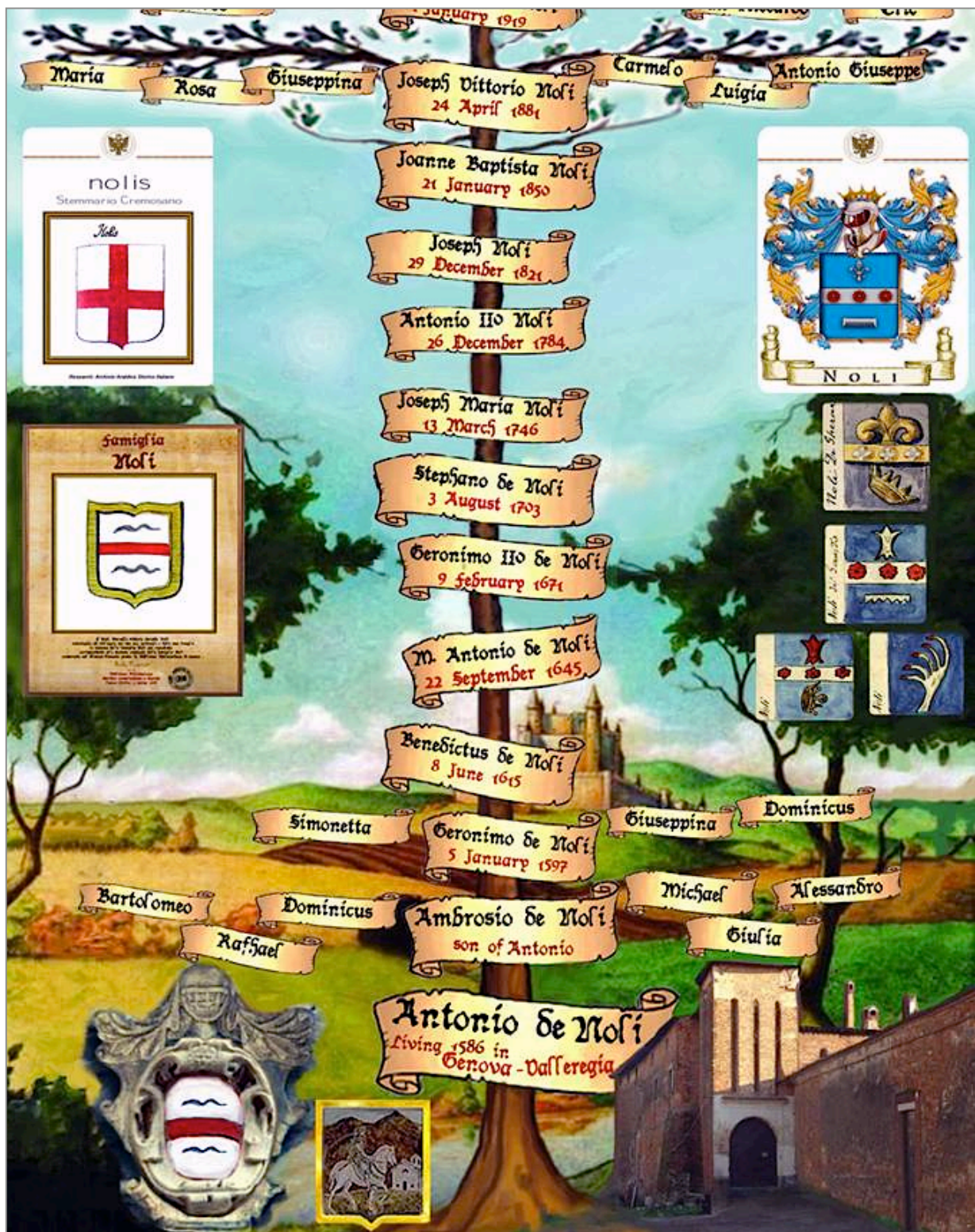


Image 10. The Nolis’ coat of arms in a Malatestiana manuscript, describing heraldic features: “Red band and vipers in white background” (“Fascia rossa con due vipere in campo bianco”). The manuscript also reads: “Famiglia Noli *oriunda*”, indicating they arrived in Cesena from an outer territory. The family stayed in Cesena from ca. 1495-98 until ca. 1576-79. Thereafter they are found documented in the Valleregia Parish (in the old Northern Genoa) by 1586 and onwards. The de Noli could comeback to Genoa after the amnesty comprised in Doria’s new Constitution of 1576. Manuscript above found by Dr. Carla Rosetti at the Malatestiana Library in Cesena, February 2008.

⁷⁹ The birth/baptism manuscripts corresponding to all the generations of this de Noli lineage in Valleregia 1597 - 1881 has been documented. Photos of the documents are reproduced in the section 6. *Manuscripts Archive* at the Antonio de Noli Academic Society’s site, available at <http://adenoli.wordpress.com/4-manuscripts/>

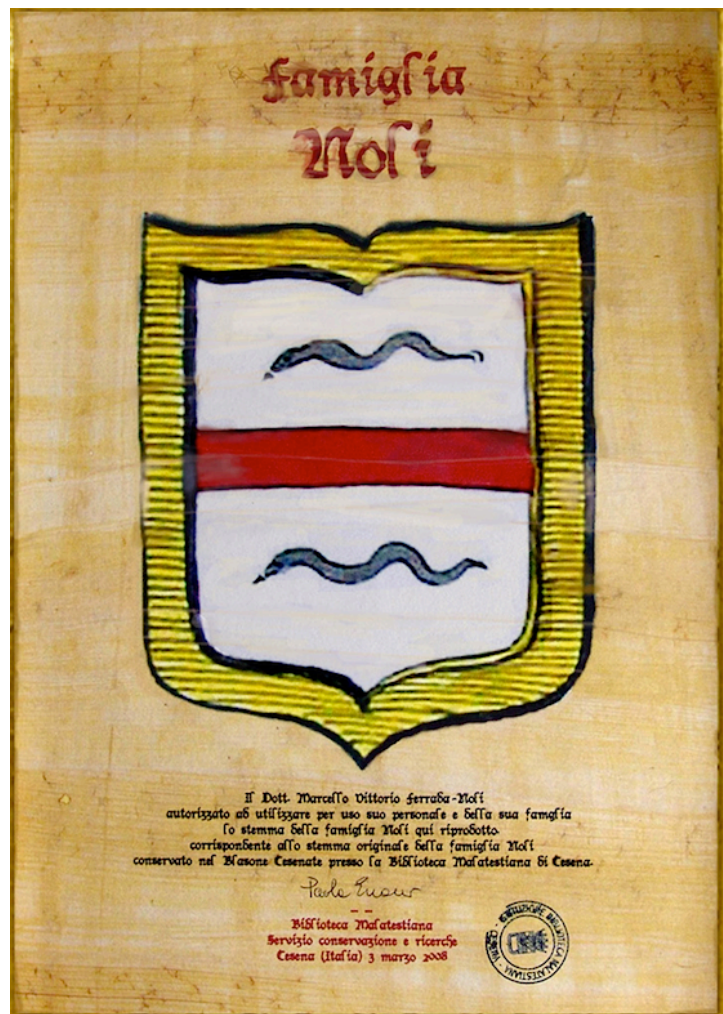


Genealogical Table 1. One of the descendant-lineages of the De Noli family in old Northern Genoa (Valleregia, 1586-1881). Retrospective lineage, departing from the generation of Vittorio Noli (b. 1881) and siblings. The coats of arms correspond to Noli families of Liguria and Lombardy. The building depicted down-right is the Cameriano Castle, inhabited by the Novara wing of the De Noli descendants by the beginning of the 1400s. To illustrate the ancient origin of all Noli families, reported being “in the City and Castle of Noli”, a section of the outer ornament depicted in the Family de Noli coat of arms (at down left) represents the frame in the coat of arms of the City of Noli found at the City Portal. Beside to it, it is depicted the Valleregia arms.



Image 11, at left: Coat of Arms of the De Noli family preserved at the Manuscript "Blasone Cesenate" at the Section *Servizio Conservazione e Ricerche* - *Bibliotheca Malatestiana* in Cesena.

Image 12, below: Facsimile of the personal document extended to the first author in 2008 "for his private use and of his family's" of the referred coat of arms.



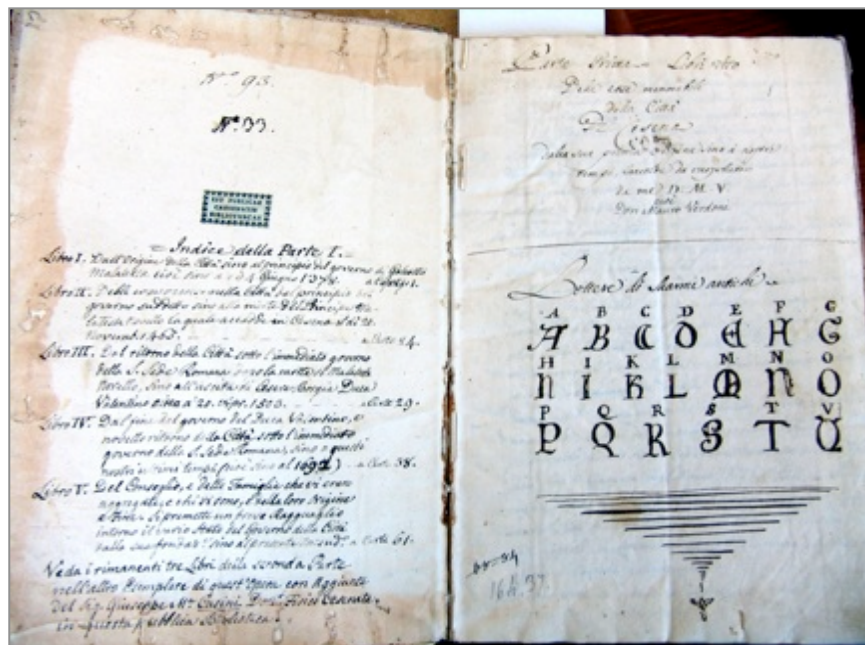


Image 13. Manuscript “Delle cose memorabili della Città Di Cesena” by D. Mauro Verdoni, one of the sources documenting the staying of the Noli family in Cesena ca. 1495- 1575.



Image 14. Descendant Giuseppe Vittorio Noli - first author’s grandfather - born in Valleregia, Serra Riccò, Genoa Province, 24 April 1881 [Manuscript 12 in Appendix 1, and Genealogical tables 1 & 2].

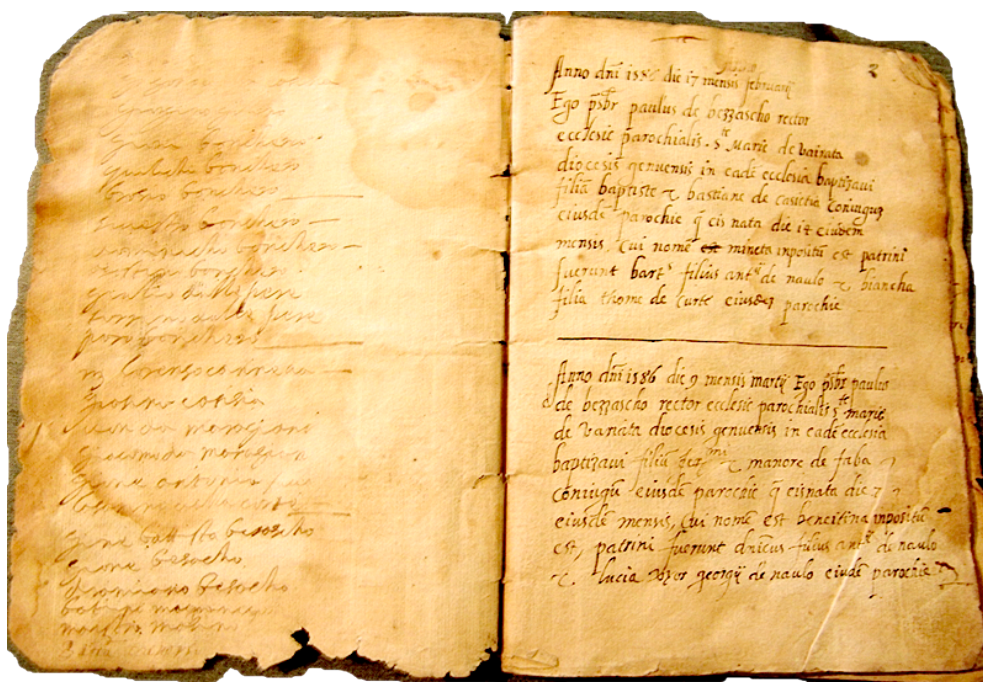


Image 15. A branch of the de Noli descendants in Genoa. Modern research on the navigator Antonio de Noli, who with his brother Bartolomeo de Noli discovered Cape Verde islands around 1450 -1461, have established that he was born in Genoa around 1420. The birthplaces given are Genoa Voltri (Genoa West) alternatively the old Noli *frazione* at Valleregia in Serra Riccò – a Northern municipality of Genoa Prov. The carta regia (Royal Letter) of 8 April 1497 by King Joao II of Portugal clearly stated he was a Genoese; and Joao de Barros, prominent among historians of the epoch, wrote in Asia (1539, 1552) that Noli was "a national from Genoa and of noble blood". The manuscript of 1586 above, discovered by Ferrada de Noli (2005) at Valleregia parish in Genoa Serra-Riccò, tells of Antonio de Noli (de Naulo in old Latin) and his son Bartolomeo de Noli, being godfather in a baptism in the Valleregia church February 17 1586. The child was named Mineta and was the daughter of Baptista and Bastiana de Casissa. Vittorio Noli Casissa (born 1881) was Noli from the father side and Casissa from the mother side, and had his baptism in the same Valleregia church in 1881. Between the generation of explorer Antonio de Noli and that of Vittorio Noli had passed 450 years [15].

Acknowledgments

The first author wishes to thank Dr. Paola Errani, Head of the Section of Antique Documents and Research at the Malatestiana Library, for making available the manuscript material and made possible this research in collaboration with Dr. Carla Rosetti, who at the time of the investigation (2008-2009) was working in that section; Don Paolo Fontana, for making available to Dr. Ilaria Brigati on behalf of this research the manuscripts contained in the Family books at the Valleregia Parish. The Palatina Library and the libraries of Voltri and Genoa; colleagues Alberto Peluffo and Trevor Hall for interesting feedback; cousin Mario Ghiglino Noli for valuable support and contacts in Valleregia. I also thank, warm and genuinely, to all the De Noli family descendants in Genoa and Serra Riccò, and particularly to my cousins

Angelo (spouse Marina), Bruno Magnanego (spouse Maria Teresa), Bruno Torre (spouse Grazia), Eugenio (spouse Marta), Giuseppina (spouse Stefano), Luigi (spouse Rosanna), Marisa (spouse Luciano), Mauro (spouse Sandra), Oriana (spouse Renzo), and Sandra (spouse Agostino) Noli, and their respective families.

REFERENCES

- [1] Barros, João. "L'Asia", Dec. I. lib. 2. cap. I. Republished by Vincenzo Valgrisio, Venice, 1562.
- [2] Du Périer Dumouriez, Charles François, "An account of Portugal, as it appeared in 1766 to Dumoriez. Printed at Lausanne 1775". Law, Debret & Balfour, London, 179. Page 95
- [3] Spotorno, Giovanni Battista, "*Historical Memoir of Christopher Columbus and His Discoveries*". Treuttel and Wurtz, London, 1823.
- [4] "(Cape Verde discoveries)...by Antonio Noli, a *Genoese* in the service of the Prince of Portugal. In W. Thomas, M.A., "The West Coast of Africa, And Its Islands". Derby & Jackson, New York, 1860. Page 327
- [5] Bernardes Branco, Manoel, "Portugal e os estrangeiros". Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa. 1895
- [6] "The Portuguese, with the aid of *Genovese* navigator Antonio Noli, discovered the remaining, likewise inhabited, islands of the Cape Verde Archipelago". In Russel G. Hamilton, "Voices from an Empire". University of Minnesota, 1975. Page 233
- [7] "A *carta regia* (royal letter) of September 19, 1462, attributed the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands to the Italian *Antonio de Noli*". In Bailey W. Diffie & George D. Winius, "Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580". University of Minnesota Press, 1977. Page 106
- [8] "... (Discovered Cape Verde) ... More likely, it was the *Genoese* António de Noli". In Aisling Irwin & Colum Wilson, "Cape Verde Islands". The Globe Pequot Press, Guilford, Connecticut. Fourth Edition, 2009. Page 6
- [9] Ferrada de Noli M. (2010) A biographical study of Governor Antonio de Noli. *Research Bulletin of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society*, Vol. 1, Nr. 4. Pages 105-123
- [10] Della Cella, "Famiglie Di Genova. Antiche, e moderne, estinte, e viventi, nobili, e popolari". Parte II, D.E.F.G.I.L.M.N.O. / MDCCLXXXIII. Pagina 293
- [11] Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira (ed. 1945), Vol XVIII, p. 836
- [12] Balla, Marcel, and Ferrada de Noli M. (2010). The Discovery of Cabo Verde and the Impact of Antonio de Noli on World History. *Research Bulletin of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society*, Vol. 1, Nr. 2, Pages 9-58
- [13] Birmingham David. Trade and Empire in the Atlantic, 1400-1600. Routledge. NY, 2000. Pages 19-20
- [14] "Occidente. Revista Illustrada de Portugal e do Extrangeiro". 16.º Anno -XVI Volume - N.º 515. Page 85
- [15] Ferrada de Noli M. (2008) "Noli, The Italian Bond". In *Famiglia de Noli 1587*. Available on-line at <http://famigliadenoli.blogspot.com/>
- [16] Ferrada de Noli M. (2010) "1. Arbore Noli. The genealogical tree". In *The de Noli descendants. Lineage Genoa Serra Riccò / Antonio de Noli 1586 - Vittorio Noli 1881*". In *Famiglia de Noli 1587*. Available on-line (2010) at <http://sites.google.com/site/ferradanoli/>

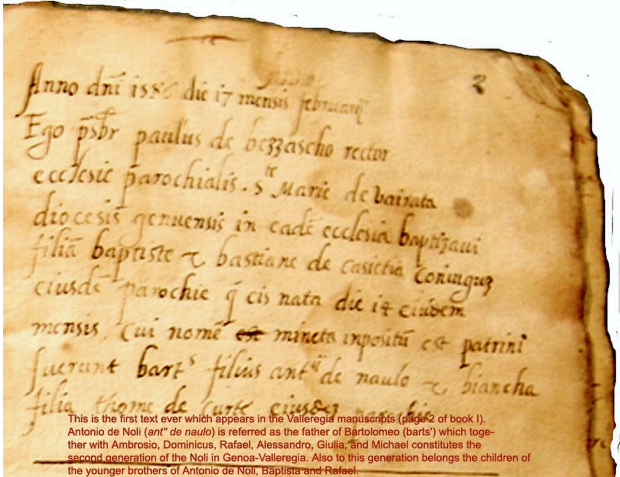
APPENDIX 1. Transcription of the manuscripts pertinent in the lineage Antonio de Noli - reported for the first time existing in Genoa Serra Riccò (Valleregia) 1586 - and the generation of Vittorio Noli (born 1881) and siblings. The original manuscripts were found 2005-2008 during a section of this research conducted at Genoa Serra Riccò, and analysed by Dr. Ilaria Brigati. Some of the Valleregia manuscripts were cross-examined by Dr. Carla Rosetti, or palaeographic expert-analysed at the Malatestiana Library (see Appendix 2). Dr. Ilaria Brigati authored the transcriptions in the table below, with the translations from Latin. All the referred manuscripts here below can be seen in larger view on-line at the *Manuscript Archive* section of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society's site: <http://adenoli.com/4-manuscripts/>

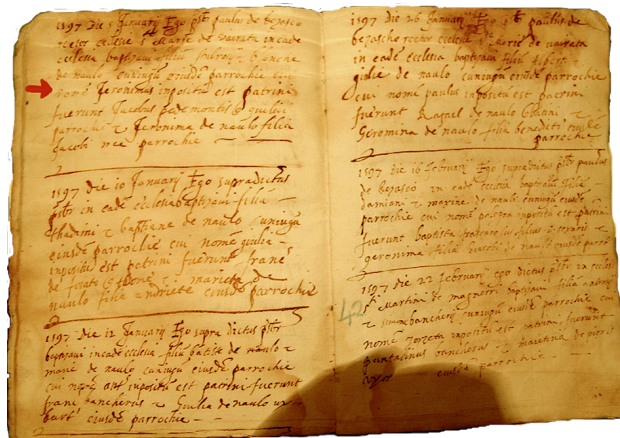
Direct link to the PDF-file with the Manuscripts at the Valleregia Parish (with zoom-function) can be found at

<http://adenoli.files.com/2010/04/manuscripts-at-the-valleregia-parish.pdf>

The material is also found at the site *The Noli Descendants*

<http://sites.google.com/site/ferradanoli/>

| Manuscript | Transcription |
|---|---|
|  | <p>Manuscripts 1, 2</p> <p><i>Anno 1586 giorno 17 mese febbraio</i></p> <p>Il presbitero Paolo de Bezzasco rettore della Chiesa parrocchiale di santa Maria de Varaita della diocesi genovese in questa chiesa battezzarono la figlia Battista...</p> <p>Padrini furono Bartolomeo, figlio di Antonio de Noli e Bianca figlia di Tommaso de Corte...</p> |



Manuscript 3

Anno 1597 giorno 5 gennaio

Il presbitero Paolo de Bezzasco rettore della Chiesa parrocchiale di santa Maria de Varaita fu battezzato il figlio di Ambrogio e Bianca De Noli, al quale fu posto il nome di Geronimo...

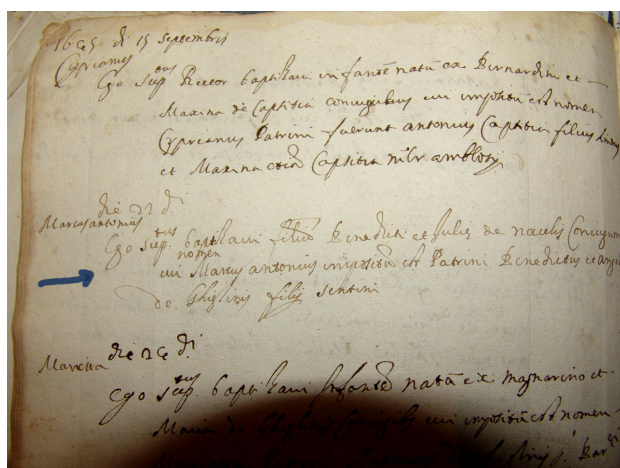


Manuscript 4

Anno 1615 giorno 8 junio

Atto di battesimo di Benedetto de Noli figlio di Geronimo e Lucrezia de Noli.

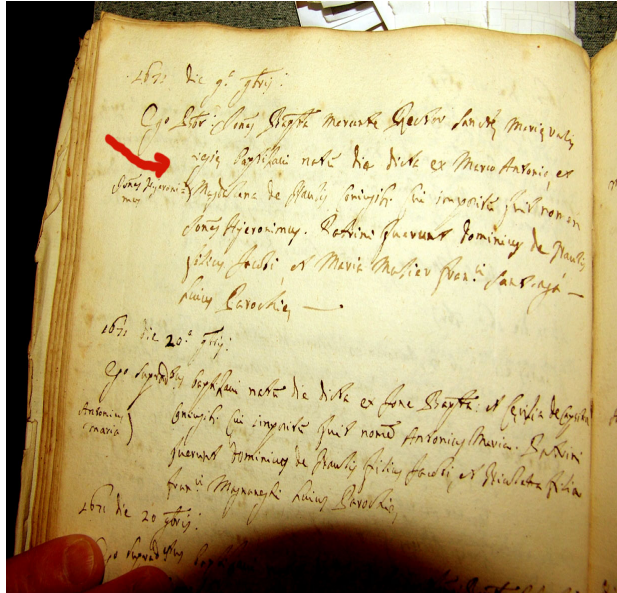
1. Date as supra (see above: 1615, the 8th of June)
2. Geronimo et Lucrecia de Nolio, qui nomen imposita fuit Benedictus



Manuscript 5

Anno 1645 giorno 22 settembre

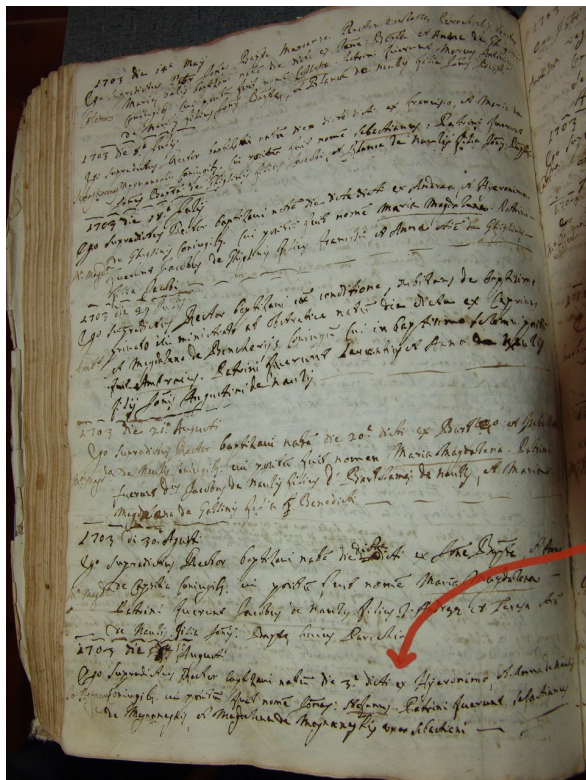
Atto di battesimo di Antonio de Noli figlio di Benedetto e Giulia De Noli



Manuscript 6

Anno 1671 giorno 9 febbraio

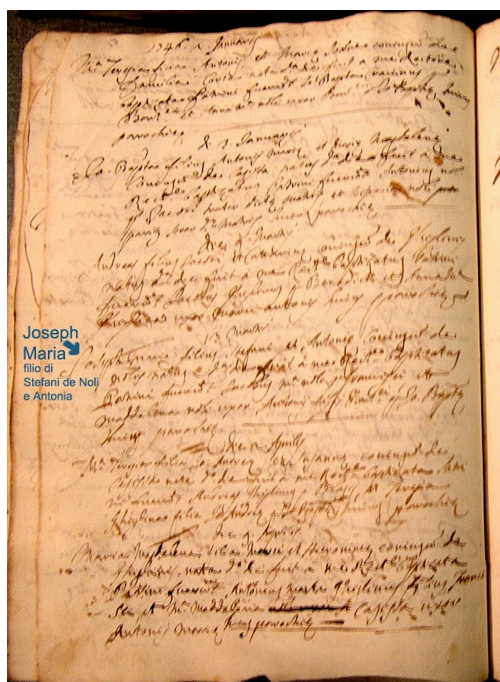
Atto di battesimo di Geronimo II
 de Noli figlio di Antonio de Noli.



Manuscript 7

Anno 1703 giorno 3 Agosto

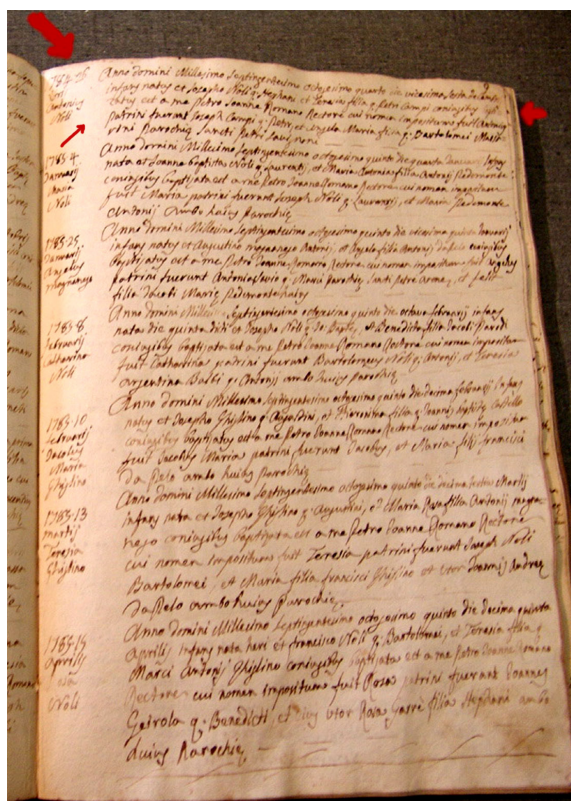
Atto di battesimo di Stefano de
 Noli figlio di Geronimo II Noli e
 Anna De Noli



Manuscript 8

Anno 1746 giorno 13 marzo

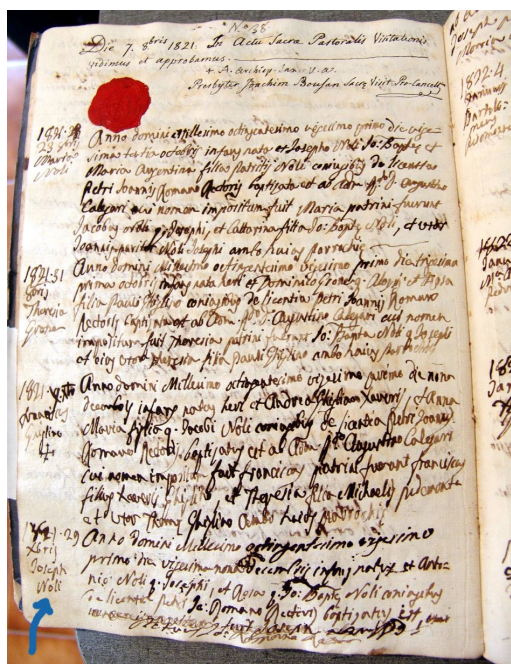
Atto di battesimo di Joseph Maria de Noli figlio di Stefano e Antonia de Noli.



Manuscript 9

Anno 1784 giorno 26 dicembre

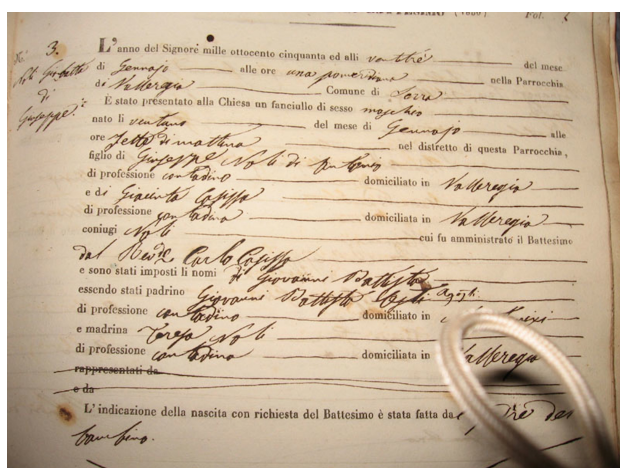
Atto di battesimo di Antonio II de Noli figlio di Joseph Maria e Teresa De Noli.



Manuscript 10

Anno 1821 giorno 29 dicembre

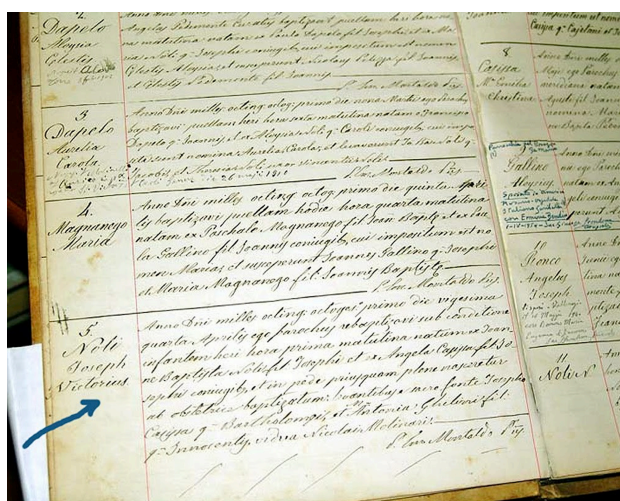
Atto di battesimo di Joseph Noli
figlio di Antonio e Rosa Noli.



Manuscript 11

Anno 1850 giorno 21 gennaio

Atto di battesimo di Joanne
Baptista de Noli figlio di
Giuseppe Noli e Giacinta Cassissa



Manuscript 12

Anno 1881 giorno 24 aprile

Atto di battesimo di Joseph
Vittorio Noli figlio di Joseph
Battista de Noli e Angela Casissa.



Quattordici generazioni della famiglia De Noli, ceppo Genova/Valleregia, dopo Antonio de Noli 1586. Tabella genealogica rassegna generazioni 12, 13 e 14, linaggio Battista de Noli (n. 1850)

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| 14 | | 13 | |
| Carlos – Francisco – Ginna | Giuseppe [Jose] | 12 | |
| Pamela – Loretto | Carlo / sposa Giulietta | | |
| Ricardo – Mauricio Vittorio – Marcello Vittorio [n.1943] – Carmen Consuelo | Stella / sposo Patricio | | |
| Patricia – Carlos – Ximena – Ruth – Luis – Juan | Consolata [Consuelo n.1918] / sposo Ricardo | | |
| Raul | Giuseppe Vittorio [n.1881] / sposa Carmen Alejandra. 8 figli | | |
| Maria Angelica | Oscar / sposa Ana – Eulalia Antonia | | |
| Vittorio – Juan Pablo – Anita Maria – Cristobal – Francesca | Giuseppina / sposo Raul | | |
| | Juan / sposa Maria Ines | | |
| | Eric / sposa Anita – Maria Angelica | | |
| Sandra – Oriana | Luigi / sposa Ilia | | |
| | Ida | Carmelo [n.1894] sposa Maria | |
| | Giovanni | | |
| Marcella – Anna | Angelo / sposa Marisa | | |
| | Albino / sposa Gianna | | |
| Ilaria | Dario /sposa Rinalda - Rosa | | |
| Alberto – Laura | Elio / sposa Diva | Luigia [n.1898] / sposo Pasquale | |
| Marino | Bruno /sposa Maria Teresa | | |
| Marco | Eugenio / sposa Marta | | |
| | | | |
| Mauro – Luigi – Angelo | Bice / sposa Francesco | | |
| Bruno | Luisa / sposo Pasquale | Antonio Giuseppe [n.1891] /sposa Angela | |
| Giuseppina – Marisa | Luigi / sposa Caterina | | |
| Antonio – Mario – Sergio – Maria – Carmen – Ximena – Fernando | Vittorio / sposa Josefina | | |
| Maria Angelica – Armando Francisco | Armando / sposa Maria | Giuseppina [n.1879] /sposo Camile Ghiglino | |
| Guillermo – Lina | M. Rosa / sposa Guillermo | | |
| Francisco – Luis Camilo | Francesco / sposa Adriana | | |
| | Angelo | | |
| | Giuseppe | Maria / sposo Ghiglino | |
| | Della | | |
| | Emilia | | |
| | Giovanni | | |
| | Luis | Rosa [n.1884] / sposo Frixione | |
| | Cosefina | | |

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Antonio de Noli Il più antico genitore De Noli menzionato nei manoscritti di Valleregia. Manoscritto di 1586 menziona anche il suo figlio Bartolomeo, e Bianca (sposa di figlio Ambrogio de Noli) |
| 2 | Ambrogio de Noli [n.1565 ca] / sposa Bianca. Genitori di Geronimo |
| 3 | Geronimo de Noli [n.1597] / sposa Lucrezia. Genitori di Benedetto |
| 4 | Benedetto de Noli [n.1615] / sposa Teresa. Genitori di Antonio |
| 5 | Antonio de Noli [n.1645] / sposa Rosa. Genitori di Geronimo |
| 6 | Geronimo de Noli [n.1671] / sposa Anna. Genitori di Stefano |
| 7 | Stefano de Noli [n.1703] / sposa Antonia. Genitori di Giuseppe |
| 8 | Giuseppe M. de Noli [n.1746] /sposa Teresa. Genitori di Antonio |
| 9 | Antonio de Noli [n.1774] / sposa Rosa Genitori di Giuseppe |
| 10 | Giuseppe Noli [n.1821] /sposa Giacinta. Genitori di Giovanni Battista |
| 11 | Giovanni Battista de Noli [n.1850] /sposa Angela. 7 figli: |



Governor Antonio de Noli and His Family in the Cape Verde Islands and Portugal: Discoverers, Colonizers, and Governors, 1460-1704

By Professor Trevor Hall, Ph.D.

Introduction

One generation before Christopher Columbus saw America, a mariner named Antonio de Noli sailed from the Genoa region of Italy into the Atlantic Ocean where de Noli discovered the uninhabited Cape Verde Islands off the coast of West Africa around 1460 (map). Two years later he colonized them and ruled the insular colony until 1476, as a governor working for the Portuguese royal family. In that year, 1476, Spanish troops invaded the Cape Verde Islands and captured Governor de Noli. They took him to Spain, as a prisoner of war, but King Ferdinand of Spain freed the governor. Following his release Governor Antonio de Noli disappeared and was never seen again, but his family continued to live and prosper in the Cape Verde Islands.

Although Antonio de Noli left no writings of his journeys to West Africa, information of his extended family is stored in archives in Portugal and Spain. Manuscripts about the de Noli family include fifteenth century Portuguese and Spanish royal edicts, travel narratives, royal chronicles, maps, and genealogical records. Economic data about the early de Noli family can also be found in fiscal records of revenues collected by the Portuguese government and the Catholic Church, when de Noli merchants paid taxes in the Cape Verde Islands. Some de Noli family members paid import taxes to the Portuguese government and the Catholic Church when they transported human captives and merchandise from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands in the early 1500s. Other family members paid property taxes in the Cape Verde Islands. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the de Noli family members were wealthy and their names appear in various Cape Verde and Catholic Church tax receipts.⁸⁰

Some de Noli family members made their money legally through real estate and shipping. The governor's family owned the best lands in the Cape Verde Islands,

⁸⁰ Two Cape Verde customs receipt books list members of the de Noli family as paying taxes to the Portuguese government and the Catholic Church. The first is dated 1513-1516 and the second 1528. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757, and Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 528, for the year 1528.

and had plantations that grew cotton and sugar cane worked by enslaved Africans. The family also owned a number of ships that transported merchants and their cargo to and from Portugal, the Cape Verde Islands, and near-by West Africa. In 1472, however, some members of the de Noli clan made a lot of money illegally when they sailed their own ships from the Cape Verde Islands to trade on the Gold Coast of modern-day Ghana. The de Noli clan made a fortune in Gold Coast gold. Governor Antonio de Noli and his family hid their immense wealth from people in Europe, and spent some of the gold purchasing privacy.

It was easy during the fifteenth century for ship-owning men who lived on distant tropical Atlantic islands, far from Europe to remain anonymous. It is possible the first de Noli ship captains lived aboard their vessels when they left the Cape Verde Islands. Some ship captains really did not like land, and in the tropics, others went ashore mainly during the cooler nights. The northern Italian de Noli clan may not have enjoyed the hot tropical sun. During this epoch, people carried no picture identification and no passport. There were no immigration agencies, and no personal identification cards—especially for Italian mariners living on Portuguese islands in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean. The difficulty of ascertaining a person's true identity in Early Modern Europe is seen in mid-sixteenth century France where an imposter assumed Martin Guerre's identity, and fooled his family, his friends and even wife, before being exposed as an imposter.⁸¹

This study begins with Antonio de Noli, patriarch of the Atlantic branch of the de Noli family tree, during the second half of the fifteenth century. The adventure started a little before 1460 when de Noli sailed from northern Italy to Spain, Portugal, Madeira, the Canaries and West Africa. He discovered the uninhabited Cape Verde Islands and colonized them for his family and a prince in Portugal. In 1477 Governor de Noli vanished, but his family continued to live in the Cape Verdes. Part 2 of the study reconstructs the lives of family members who lived in the Cape Verdes with Governor de Noli. They include his younger brother Bartholomeu and their nephew Raphael de Noli. All three men sailed from Italy to Portugal around 1460. Each of the original three de Noli men owned and captained his own ship. Each vessel had its own crew consisting of young able bodied Italian men.

Part 3 concentrates on the daughter of Governor Antonio de Noli, a Portuguese noblewoman named Dona Branca de Aguiar. She inherited her father's Cape Verde governorship in 1497, but received her noble title from her Portuguese mother, Dona de Aguiar or from the king of Portugal. During the early sixteenth century, the governess and other second-generation de Noli family members lived in the Cape Verde Islands and were rich, powerful Portuguese nobles who governed the islands and controlled the maritime economy.

The fourth part of this study looks at another de Noli ship captain, Andre de Noli, who lived in the Cape Verde Islands from the 1550s to 1630s. His name was mis-transcribed as Andre Donelha, probably by a seventeenth-century archivist working at the library, Biblioteca da Ajuda, in Portugal. In 1625 Andre de Noli

⁸¹ Natalie Z. Davis, The Return of Martin Guerre (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983).

edited his diary which presented a detailed autobiographical narrative about his maritime adventures in the Cape Verde Islands and near-by West Africa. He signed the diary, which helps to identify the author as a member of the de Noli family. The diary provides data about the first Cape Verde governor Antonio de Noli, and other family members, who lived a century before him. Additional historical manuscripts about de Noli family members are scattered in archives and libraries across Portugal and its former colonies in Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands. However, the oldest manuscripts are found in Portugal, and not in the former colonies.

Many members of the de Noli family were Portuguese nobles, and the nobility kept extensive written genealogical records. To be a Portuguese noble meant that one had noble parents and grandparents, who were also nobles. However, this was not the case of nobles in the de Noli family, whose parents and grandparents were not recorded in genealogical records. There is no explanation for this lack of protocol, but it is important, and is very rare. The truth may hide a family secret, perhaps by explaining the de Noli's rapid upward mobility into the elite Portuguese nobility. It is especially difficult to explain the rise of the family after Bartholomeu de Noli murdered a priest in 1466 and his older brother Governor Antonio de Noli committed treason against Portugal in 1477—but, be that as it may, these crimes did not stop the upward mobility of the de Noli clan in the Cape Verde Islands.

A major hurdle in reconstructing the de Noli family history in the Cape Verde Islands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is the difficulty in reading the original Portuguese manuscripts written during those years (see the appendix for an example of sixteenth-century Portuguese). To read fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and even some seventeenth-century Portuguese manuscripts one requires training in Portuguese paleography—the interpretation of ancient written Portuguese manuscripts. Early Modern Portuguese scribes had difficulty to read handwriting that was filled with numerous abbreviations and multiple symbols. Modern dictionaries of Portuguese paleography provide meanings for ancient Portuguese words, abbreviations, and symbols.⁸² Early Modern Portuguese had no standardized spelling, and each scribe wrote a word as it sounded to him. A foreign name, like de Noli, had as many different spellings as the Portuguese scribes who wrote it down. Modern researchers not versed in Portuguese paleography must rely on transcribed, edited, and published Portuguese manuscripts. When the published manuscript has an error, scholars repeat the error over and over, because they cannot read the original manuscript.

The fifth and final section of this study looks at two de Noli family members, one who was a German noble in the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands, and another who was a Cape Verdean author, in early eighteenth century. Since the Cape Verde Islands was a small colony, there were not enough eligible Portuguese nobles to marry each other. Thus, Portuguese, Italian and German noble families intermarried in the islands. Noble families who governed different Portuguese insular colonies in the Azores, Madeiras, Cape Verdes and Sao Tome were also linked by marriage.

⁸² E. Borges Nunes, *Abreviatvras Paleograficas Portvgvesas* (Lisboa: FL., 1981).

This brief study is a collective-biography of the Italian discoverer Antonio de Noli and his extended family, who lived mainly in the Cape Verde Islands from the 1460s to 1704. The study follows the de Noli clan on their maritime adventures from native Italy to Spain, Portugal, Madeira, the Canaries, West Africa and especially the Cape Verde Islands—decades before and after Columbus sailed the Atlantic Ocean. The research is based primarily on Portuguese archival manuscripts written during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Also included are data from Portuguese, Spanish, French and English publications. The study follows a chronological time-frame, beginning with Antonio de Noli back in 1460, and ending with Paulino da Nolla da Andrade, in 1703. Tales of different de Noli family members form written strands of family history in an insular Cape Verde society, located off the coast of West Africa. Throughout this study the family name is spelled, de Noli, because that is the way modern family members spell their name; however, the archival and printed records have many different spellings of the four-letter surname Noli.⁸³

The Beginning: Antonio de Noli Sails from Italy to Portugal around 1460

Two twentieth-century Cape Verdean scholars, Christiano Senna Barcellos⁸⁴ and Antonio Carreira have written about early Cape Verde history.⁸⁵ They used fifteenth-century archival documents to conclude that a little before 1460, the Italian shipowner Antonio de Noli joined his younger brother and a nephew Raphael de Noli in sailing their three ships from the Mediterranean to Portugal. Each man commanded his own vessel and crew. Upon passing through the Strait of Gibraltar the three-ship flotilla docked in Spain's port for Seville, and stayed there for a few days. In Seville, they probably received information from Genoese merchants about Portugal and its Atlantic trading network with West Africa.

Then the three ships left Seville and sailed west to Portugal, where the family patriarch Antonio de Noli met Prince Henry the Navigator at his base in Sagres, in southern Portugal. The navigator prince hired Antonio de Noli, his ship, and crew to sail to West Africa and deliver horses to Portugal's allies. Antonio de Noli accepted the job and transported the horses from Portugal to the non-Muslim Serer kingdoms, located in modern-day Senegal. He exchanged the horses for Muslim prisoners of war whom the Serers had captured in religious war against the Muslim Wolofs. Upon departing from West Africa and sailing back to Portugal, Antonio de

⁸³ In my initial research I spelled the family name de nolle, because that is the way the sixteenth-century Cape Verde family members signed their names. However, since 2007, I have been communicating with Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Ph.D., and I now spell the family name de Noli. Professor Ferrada de Noli has mentioned that in most historical or geographic books, including ancient chronicles or encyclopedia, the navigator is referred to as Antonio de Noli. Professor Ferrada de Noli provided the citation, Charles Francois Du Perier Dumouriez, "An Account of Portugal, as it appeared in 1766 to Demoriez. Printed at Lausanne 1755," (London: Law, Debret and Balfour, 1797).

⁸⁴ Christiano Jose De Senna Barcellos, *Subsidios Para A Historia De Cabo Verde E Guine* (Lisboa: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1899), passim.

⁸⁵ Antonio Carreira, *Cabo Verde Formacao E Extincao De Uma Sociedade Escravocrata, 1460-1878* (Mira-Sintra: Grafica Europam, 1983).

Noli discovered the Cape Verde Islands, located ca. 300 miles off the coast of Senegal. Over the next decade and half (1462-1476), Antonio de Noli settled the islands, and ruled them as the Portuguese governor. During the fifteenth century, European ship owners sailed for individual European kings, queens, and princes, instead of the national governments of Portugal or Spain. Thus, it was easy for men like Antonio de Noli and Christopher Columbus to work for the Portuguese king Joao II (1481-1495), and then sail for the Catholic king and queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella.

Diogo Gomes, a Portuguese ship captain, witnessed the first voyage Antonio de Noli sailed from Portugal to West Africa, and provided details of the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands, 550 years-ago. Gomes sailed from Portugal to West Africa in 1460, at the same time as Antonio de Noli. Gomes first told his travel narrative to the German, Martim Behaim, who recorded it, along with his famous globe. Then, in 1507, the narrative of Diogo Gomes was printed as part of the compendium about maritime voyages from Europe to West Africa compiled by Valentim Fernandes, another German publisher who lived in Lisbon.⁸⁶ Although Diogo Gomes was biased against Antonio de Noli, he was a valuable eyewitness to de Noli's discovery and is taken seriously especially since Antonio de Noli wrote nothing that has survived to the present.

Other fifteenth century manuscripts about the Cape Verde Islands are preserved in the Portuguese National Archive, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, and in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Portugal. Among the oldest surviving manuscripts are two Portuguese royal edicts that name Antonio de Noli. One edict was written in 1462⁸⁷ and the other was issued in 1497 (see the appendix for the 1497 edict). The royal edicts confirmed that Antonio de Noli, a Genoese, discovered the Cape Verde Islands when Prince Henry the Navigator was alive, then settled them, and ruled the islands as a Portuguese governor. Edicts from the kings of Portugal also provide very important data about the first de Noli settlers in the Portuguese Cape Verde colony.

Non-Portuguese fifteenth-century documents also supply valuable information about the de Noli family. Among the most important are printed Spanish royal edicts and Spanish government chronicles, especially for the years 1476-1477. During this period, Spanish troops invaded the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands and captured Governor Antonio de Noli. The Spaniards described their conquest and documented transporting the governor to Spain—as a prisoner of war. The most detailed accounts of Governor de Noli are records of his earliest voyages from Portugal to West Africa and his discovery of the Cape Verde Islands. There is less information about the governor's later maritime expeditions after he colonized the Cape Verde Islands in 1462. This is strange because in fifteenth-century Portuguese maritime historiography there are less data about the earliest voyages.

⁸⁶ Antonio Brasio, ed., *O Manuscrito Valentim Fernandes, 1507* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa Da Historia, 1940), passim.

⁸⁷ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, livro I, fol. 61, in Antonio Brasio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana, Africa Occidental, 1342-1499*, (Lisboa: Agencia Geral Do Ultramar, 1958), 1: 415-416.

To show the importance of Spanish documents of de Noli family history, the first Iberian historical manuscript to mention Antonio de Noli in the Atlantic Ocean comes from Spain, and not Portugal. That is because around 1460, when the de Noli ship captains sailed from the Mediterranean to Portugal, they stopped first in Spain. According to the fifteenth century Spanish royal chronicler F. Alonso de Palencia, Antonio de Noli and some of his relatives sailed to Seville from somewhere in the Mediterranean. After a brief stop in Spain, they went on to Portugal.⁸⁸ Spanish records provide no additional details about the original de Noli family, until 1476, when the Spaniards captured Governor Antonio de Noli. However, the data are sufficient enough to establish a sailing route of the de Noli fleet.

When he arrived in Portugal around 1460, Antonio de Noli navigated straight to the base Prince Henry the Navigator had established in Sagres. It is likely de Noli had received information about Sagres, the Portuguese, and Prince Henry from Genoese merchants in Seville who traded with Portugal. It is possible that Antonio de Noli transported some Genoese merchants and their cargo from Seville to Portugal. Prince Henry immediately employed Antonio de Noli, his ship, and crew to deliver horses to the Portuguese allies in West Africa because the prince wanted men who would trade with his West African allies and not mariners who would wage war, like the first Portuguese in West Africa. Antonio de Noli was the perfect man, and after the Italian sailed from Portugal to West Africa, his life changed forever.

Prince Henry the Navigator had been directing ships to West Africa and back to Portugal safely for decades before Antonio de Noli anchored in Portugal. Ironically, Prince Henry the Navigator did not sail personally, but remained on land in Sagres.⁸⁹ Initially Prince Henry ordered his men to capture and enslave anyone found living along the Atlantic shores stretching from Morocco to the River Gambia (map). West Africans responded to Portuguese raids, by defending themselves and fighting the invaders from the ocean. During the 1440s and 1450s, Africans killed many Portuguese raiders sent by Prince Henry the Navigator to kidnap and enslave coastal dwellers. High casualties forced Prince Henry to devise a new and less dangerous plan to capture Africans whom he then sold as slaves.⁹⁰ The new Portuguese policy involved trade and employing ship-owning merchants, like Antonio de Noli, his brother Bartholomeu, and their nephew Raphael.

During the 1440s, Prince Henry's mariners finally reached the southern frontiers of Islamic rule in West Africa when they navigated beyond Cape Verde peninsular, in modern-day Senegal (map). Muslims dominated the entire Atlantic littoral from Morocco to south of the Sahara desert in Senegal. The Christian Prince Henry wanted to discover the southern extent of Islamic power in West Africa because he knew Ethiopian Christians lived south of the Islamic world. The Portuguese wanted

⁸⁸ Palencia, dec. III, bk. 26, chap. 6. Translated into English in John William Blake, Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1942), 1: 224

⁸⁹ Damiao Peres, Historia Descobrimientos Portugueses (Lisboa: Colacao Henriquina, 1959), 5-65.

⁹⁰ The best accounts of the first Portuguese maritime voyages to West Africa are found in, Gomes Eannes da Azurara, Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea (London: Hakluyt Society).

to form an alliance with these Christian Ethiopians against Islam. The most southern Muslim state along the Atlantic Ocean in West Africa was that of the Wolofs, in Senegal. Wolof Muslims lived just south of the Sahara, in savanna grasslands stretching along the Atlantic Ocean, from the River Senegal to the Cape Verde peninsular. In previous centuries Wolofs had inhabited the southern provinces of the great Muslim empires of Mali and Songhay.

The first non-Muslims living along the Atlantic were the Serers; they had kingdoms located just south of those of the Muslim Wolofs (map). The boundary between Muslims and non-Muslims corresponded to the boundary between savanna grasslands and coastal rainforest. Serer animists lived in the coastal rainforest, while Wolof Muslims lived in the savanna. The Serer kingdoms were located between the Cape Verde peninsula and the River Gambia. However, Muslim Mandingas dominated the River Gambia which formed the southern boundaries of animist Serer kingdoms. Therefore, Muslims surrounded the Serers on three sides. The Serers had the Atlantic Ocean as their only non-Muslim border.

Although surrounded by hostile Muslims, the Serers survived because their army utilized iron-tipped poison arrows and Serer settlements were protected by trees along the coastal rainforest. Thus, in the 1440s, the Serers welcomed the Christian Portuguese ships that sailed to their Atlantic shores and offered to sell horses and weapons to fight the Muslims. The Portuguese brought textiles and other merchandise, and even took away the captive Muslim prisoners of war. This permitted the victorious Serers to settle on former Wolof territory without occupying or killing the defeated Muslim population.

For centuries before the first Portuguese ships sailed to West Africa, Muslim Wolofs and Mandinga Muslims waged war against animist forest dwellers living along the southern frontiers of the Islamic world. The wars were similar to those waged against Christian Europeans along the borders of the Mediterranean Sea. Muslims can, in theory, coexist peacefully with Christians and Jews, who are classified in the Koran as people of the Book, they cannot coexist with the polytheists who lived in the coastal forests of West Africa.

For many centuries Muslims captured the non-Muslim foresters, including the Serers, and enslaved their prisoners of war. Some Serers were among the animists forced from sub-Saharan Africa across the Sahara desert to Islamic slave markets in North Africa.⁹¹ South of the Serer kingdoms were dozens of other animists kingdoms in the coastal rain forest along the Atlantic Ocean. The scholar Walter Rodney discovered an absence of indigenous slavery among non-Muslims who lived in the Atlantic coastal rainforest running from the River Gambia south to Liberia.⁹²

Prince Henry the Navigator was a medieval crusader who waged war against white Muslims in Europe, brown Muslims in North Africa, and black Muslims in

⁹¹ Paul Lovejoy, ed., Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2004), 1-54.

⁹² Walter Rodney, History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800 (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980), *passim*.

West Africa.⁹³ When Prince Henry heard about Serers fighting against black Muslims in Senegal, he joined forces with the black Serers against the Muslims. “The enemy of my enemy is my friend,” as the saying goes. Prince Henry even secured papal bulls from the Vatican, giving him the right to sell weapons to non-Christian Serers who fought Muslims. The bulls gave Prince Henry permission to buy slaves from non-Christians in West Africa.⁹⁴ The Catholic church claimed that Christian Portuguese could obtain Muslims and animists West Africans, by any means, and then convert them to Christianity. By supplying Serers with horses, Prince Henry gave a lethal cavalry to non-Muslims who had no horses in the past. This influx of horses expanded the wars in sections of West Africa and led to more prisoners of war for the Portuguese to carry back to Europe as slaves. Some Portuguese also traded with Muslims and acquired animist prisoners of war as slaves.

Prince Henry’s new policy of diplomacy and trading rather than raiding secured thousands of captive Muslims and animists from West Africa, without kidnapping people, as he had done in the past. The Italian Antonio de Noli was part of this new policy. Prince Henry the Navigator organized the first maritime system to deliver enslaved West Africans to Europe on a steady basis. In this study this initial period is called Stage 1 of the human trafficking from West Africa directly to Europe. It will be followed by Stage 2 where Cape Verde colonists monopolized maritime trade with nearby West Africa. Finally, Stage 3 had direct maritime trade from West Africa to the Americas.

Even in the earliest years of Portuguese maritime contacts in West Africa, a few Portuguese and Spanish renegades navigated their small ships from Europe to West Africa, and kidnapped coastal dwellers, and then sold them as slaves in Europe and its Old World insular colonies in Madeira, the Cape Verdes, and the Spanish Canaries.⁹⁵ These raids were dangerous, especially after Africans developed warning systems and defenses to stop the kidnappings by European sailors. Despite these raids, early shore-to-ship commerce flourished along the West African coast. In West Africa, Portuguese ships traded in a new unadministered Africa. No one really policed the early maritime trade in West Africa, not the Africans and not the Europeans. Thus, Portuguese colonists in the Cape Verdes sailed where they liked and did as they pleased.

⁹³ A. J. Dias Dinis, Estudos Henriquinos (Coimbra: Acra Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1960), passim.

⁹⁴ “By his bull *Romanus pontifex* (1455), Nicholas V (1447-55) reaffirmed his earlier concession to the Portuguese king of the right to reduce the enemies of Christ to perpetual servitude, and allowed him to purchase from infidels through legitimate exchange or by a lawful contract of sale black Africans taken into captivity.” Nelson H. Minnich, “The Catholic Church and pastoral care of black Africans in Renaissance Italy,” in Black Africans in Renaissance Europe, eds., T.F. Earle, and K.J.P. Lowe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 281.

⁹⁵ From time to time an unlucky pirate was captured and executed. In 1460 the Spanish interloper De Prado was captured off the Atlantic coast of the River Gambia, and transported to Portugal where he was burned alive, with his gold, for selling weapons to Muslims. De Prado was captured in West Africa and transported to Porto, Portugal, where King Afonso V burned him alive. The Voyages of Cadamosto and other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century, ed., G.R. Crone (London: Hakluyt Society, 1937, 100-102.

Things became more lawless when Prince Henry the Navigator died in 1460, and the little discipline that had existed disappeared, and chaos ruled European maritime trade from West Africa. At the time of his death, Portuguese voyages to map the West African coast stopped at Sierra Leone. For nine years after he died no new voyages of discovery explored the West Africa coast. It was during the decade of the 1460s, just after Prince Henry died that Antonio de Noli colonized the Cape Verde Islands. The Italian settled the Cape Verdes without any interference from Portugal. The Cape Verde Islands belonged to the brother of the king, and people left the islands alone because they did not want problems with the royal family. Although the Portuguese royal family owned the Cape Verde colony, they ignored it and left everything in the hands of Governor Antonio de Noli. The Cape Verde Islands was just another royal revenue stream for Prince Ferdinand of Portugal. The early Cape Verde Islands was virtually an independent state, where European colonists had more freedom than people who lived in Europe and were subjected to the conservative Catholic church and absolute monarchs.

Antonio de Noli Sails to West Africa and Discovers the Cape Verde Islands, 1460

As recounted above, around 1460, Prince Henry the Navigator hired Antonio de Noli, and supplied him with horses and cargo that de Noli freighted aboard his ship in southern Portugal, and delivered to the Serer kingdoms in Senegal. According to the eyewitness Diogo Gomes, he and Antonio de Noli navigated from Portugal to West Africa, and anchored in the Serer harbor called Zaya. The harbor was located south of the Cape Verde peninsula in the coastal rainforest along the Atlantic Ocean. Gomes witnessed de Noli exchange one horse for six human captives, with the Serers. Upon seeing this, the sly Portuguese, Diogo Gomes, bartered his captive Africans for de Noli's horses, and at the same rate. Then, Gomes exchanged the horses with other Serers for up to fourteen human captives per horse.⁹⁶ This double-dealing led to enmity between de Noli and Gomes.

Portuguese records from the fifteenth and early sixteenth-centuries indicate that the Serer did not have slaves. They were mainly farmers and hunters. Some Historians call them stateless. The early Portuguese said the Serers never sold other Serers into slavery,⁹⁷ and also did not hold Muslim as slaves. The Serers lived on the narrow coastal rainforest along the Atlantic Ocean, from the Cape Verde peninsula to the River Gambia. The Serers hid their settlements deep in the forest, away from the Muslims who surrounded them on three-sides. The Muslims were aware of directions, because they had to locate Mecca in order to pray every day. If the Serers had Muslim slaves, then any escaped slave could easily hide in the thick coastal rainforest, and walk to nearby Muslim communities on the Serer border. The escaped Muslim slave could then show other Muslims the location of Serer homes and businesses. Thus, the Serers kept no Muslim slaves for their own safety. Serers banished Muslim prisoners of war to the Portuguese. It is likely that the Serers

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., 54-55. For a study of the Serers and slavery, see also, Martin A. Klein, "Servitude among the Wolofs and Serers of Senegambia", in Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds. *Slavery in Africa* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 339-341.

killed Muslim prisoners of war, or ransomed them for captive Serer countrymen, before the Portuguese arrived in the 1440s. It is difficult for kingdoms located in forests to hold slaves in captivity.

Prince Henry received reports about the religious, political, and military situations in Senegal, and exploited them to his advantage. The Portuguese prince formed a military alliance with animist Serers. Prince Henry supplied horses to Serers, and sent military advisors to teach them how to ride the animals and organize cavalries. The soldiers also had to be taught how care for their horses; therefore, some Portuguese men lived in Serer kingdoms from early on. The Portuguese also rounded up Muslim prisoners of war and transported them in ships sailing from West Africa. The Serers had diplomatic relations with Portugal, and sent ambassadors to Portugal in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.⁹⁸ Portugal had diplomatic relations with other West African kingdoms, including Benin City, Nigeria and the Congo kingdom. These kingdoms sent African ambassadors to Portugal.

Prince Henry shifted the balance of military power to the advantage of animist Serers. For the first time, non-Muslim Serer foresters had horses, and they used them to attack Muslim Wolofs, who lived in the savannas, where there were few natural defenses against cavalries. However, the Serer kingdoms had trees and rivers that formed natural defenses against Muslim cavalries. Horses domesticated in the newly colonized Cape Verde Islands became a very valuable export to West Africa. The influx of horses led to the political destabilization in West Africa, especially where incessant wars raged between non-Muslims and Muslims. Wars destroyed life, stifled commerce, halted economic development, and added to insecurity across West Africa, five hundred years ago just like today.

In 1460 Diogo Gomes reported that he and Antonio de Noli loaded captive human beings along the Serer coast and then sailed towards Portugal. Their route took the two ships directly into the Cape Verde archipelago, a group of ten islands spread over 4,000 square kilometers of Atlantic Ocean, and located 300 miles off the coast of Senegal. Because they are so widely spread out the Cape Verde Islands were easy to find, even for fifteenth-century sail ships with questionable navigators and inexperienced pilots. The islands of the Azores, Canaries, and the Cape Verdes were strategic because they were spread over vast distances of Atlantic Ocean.⁹⁹ But ships did get lost, and many fifteenth century European mariners and merchants never returned to land.

Once again, the eyewitness Diogo Gomes provides the best data about the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands—because he was there. Gomes claimed that on

⁹⁸ In 1515 the Lisbon based ambassador of the Serer kingdoms, Dom Francisco, received a gift of fine textile from King Manuel I of Portugal. The African ambassador had the Portuguese noble title of Dom, and he took a Christian Portuguese name. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronologico I-18-70, issued 22 August 1515, in Brasio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana.*, 2:114.

⁹⁹ An excellent analysis of the strategic importance of Atlantic islands in the Age of Discovery is given by T. Bentley Duncan, *Atlantic Islands Madeiras, the Azores and the Cape Verdes in the Seventeenth-Century Commerce and Navigation* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1972).

their way from West Africa to Portugal he and Antonio de Noli spotted some islands in the ocean, a few days sail from West Africa. They landed on a large island and noted that there were no people on any of the island. Gomes said the birds here could be caught by hand, another indicator the islands were uninhabited.¹⁰⁰

The first Catholic priests in the islands, only six years after their discovery, also indicated the islands were uninhabited. In 1466, two Franciscan priests landed in Cape Verde's largest island, Santiago. Neither Father Rodrigo nor Father Jaime mentioned converting native people.¹⁰¹ If the islands had an indigenous population, then Catholic priests would have said something about converting them. Also, there was no war between the native population on the islands and the first European settlers.

After exploring the uninhabited islands, Antonio de Noli and Diego Gomes jumped aboard their two ships and raced to Portugal. At that time, Prince Henry the Navigator rewarded ship captains who discovered a new Atlantic island with the governorships of the island. The first person who told Prince Henry about a new island became its governor. Governorships of Portuguese Atlantic islands were lucrative posts.¹⁰² A governorship was hereditary, and it stayed in the discoverer's family for generations. Governors were powerful men who married into the Portuguese nobility. The governor was de facto king of his insular Atlantic colony, located months of sailing time away from Portugal. The governor was also the chief legal officer, as well as collector of revenues for the Portuguese crown. Governors owned the most valuable land, rivers, and harbor, and they distributed large holdings of real estate to themselves, family, and friends. Some governors received a handsome salary, a fat pension, and collected taxes although they paid no taxes themselves.

After they discovered the Cape Verde Islands, Antonio de Noli and Diogo Gomes sailed their ships north until they spotted the Canary Islands, and then navigated to the Portuguese Madeira Islands, where a storm halted their voyage to Portugal. In his rush to reach Portugal first, Diego Gomes tried sailing around the storm, and navigated from Madeira towards the Azores, an unwise decision.

The smarter Antonio de Noli waited patiently in Madeira for the storm to pass, and then sailed directly to Portugal. The Italian informed Prince Henry the Navigator about the Cape Verde Islands, and he received the governorship. Antonio de Noli had not yet stolen, but he would steal later. A few months after the Cape Verde discovery, Prince Henry the Navigator died, on 13 November 1460. However, before he died, the prince changed his last will, and included the newly discovered Cape Verde Islands. Prince Henry's last will provides the 1460 date of discovery for the Cape Verde Islands. Still some studies dispute that discovery date, and others question if Antonio de Noli was the discoverer.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Crone, *Voyages of Cadamosto*, 101-102.

¹⁰¹ George Boeher, "The Franciscan and Portuguese Colonization in Africa and the Atlantic Islands, 1415-1499," *The Americas* 11 (July 1954-April 1955).

¹⁰² C. R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825* (London: Knopf, 1969).

¹⁰³ Disputes concerning the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands are studied by Oldham H. Yule, "Discovery of Cape Verde Islands," (reprint fr. Richtigthofen Festschrift, 1895). See also

One fact is not in dispute, in 1462 a Portuguese royal edict stated that Antonio de Noli discovered the eastern Cape Verde Islands, during the lifetime of Prince Henry the Navigator.¹⁰⁴ This edict was issued only two years after the discovery, and no one has challenged the document. When the king of Portugal, in this case King Afonso V, said Antonio de Noli discovered the Cape Verde Islands, then that is enough proof. However, because archipelagoes are scattered over large sections of the ocean, different islands are usually discovered by different mariners, at different times. Therefore disputes are common.

In 1462 Antonio de Noli founded the first Cape Verde settlement, and there is no dispute here. He loaded his ship with European colonists and supplies, and sailed from Portugal to establish the first settlement in the Cape Verde Islands. Possession is the greater part of ownership, and now the Genoese had possession. Antonio de Noli probably stopped in the Madeira Islands on his way to establish the first Cape Verde settlement, because Madeira is located between Portugal and the Cape Verdes (map). Antonio de Noli had also visited Madeira two years before, and witnessed the development of the once uninhabited archipelago. Portuguese colonists in Madeira had experience settling and developing Atlantic islands. Antonio de Noli's younger brother Bartholomeu de Noli and nephew Raphael de Noli may have sailed on this maiden voyage of colonization, but they are not mentioned as doing so in the historical documents.

Antonio de Noli was smart, and he selected the largest Cape Verde island for the first settlement. He chose well-watered fertile Santiago Island, and settled at a protected deep-water harbor along the southern shores called Ribeira Grande.¹⁰⁵ In Portuguese, the words *Ribeira Grande* mean big brook, which described a stream that still supplies year-around fresh water to the settlement. Ribeira Grande has a protected deep-water Atlantic harbor, stretching around a narrow green lush river valley. The settlement gained the reputation for being unhealthy, and the capital was moved to nearby Praia, the present capital city of the Republic of Cape Verde.

In 1462 when they settled Ribeira Grande, all ten Cape Verde Islands were desolate, and in order to make money the first European colonists had to sail to West Africa to trade, because Africans were not sailing to them. The first Cape Verde colonists also traded with Europe and other Atlantic islands in the Azores, Madeira and Spanish Canaries. European colonists in the Cape Verdes made their money by sailing their ships to nearby West Africa, and securing food, ivory, beeswax, gold, pepper, and captive Africans. Then they transported the merchandise and captive human beings to the Cape Verdes. Africans enslaved in the Cape Verdes grew cotton, vegetables, sugar cane, and food, and raised livestock. European colonists shipped valuable horses from the Cape Verde Islands to West

"The Discovery of the Cape Verde Islands," in Crone, *The Voyages of Cadamosto*, xxxvi-xlii.

¹⁰⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Afonso V, livro 1, fol. 61, edited in Brasio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africa*, 1: 415-416

¹⁰⁵ There are no data on Antonio de Noli colonizing the Cape Verdes in 1462, until 1466 when the founding charter said the Cape Verde Islands was settled 4-years before. See Founding Charter of 1466..

Africa, and exchanged the animals for prisoners of war whom they transported to the Cape Verdes as slaves.

The first colonists in the Cape Verde Islands had a surplus of enslaved Africans. Once merchants in Europe knew enslaved Africans were available in the Cape Verde Islands, they sailed to the tropical islands to buy them. Ships navigated to the Cape Verde Islands from Europe and its insular colonies in Madeira, Azores, and the Spanish Canaries. Merchants in Cape Verde markets and harbors sold enslaved Africans, island grown cotton, sugar, hides, ivory and beeswax to European merchants. Ships had to carry a lot of food to feed their human cargo on the two-month-plus sail from the Cape Verdes to Europe. It is likely that merchants traded gold, pepper, and live exotic African animals, extra-legally. Cape Verde merchants imported European goods, especially textiles, and food including wheat, olive oil, wine, cheeses, and liquor. Other imports from Europe included building equipment, supplies for horses, household goods, and supplies to repair ships. Europeans living in the Cape Verde Islands tried to enjoy their Mediterranean diet of wheat, wines, olive oil, cheeses and fresh fish. Enslaved Africans ate food imported into the islands from West Africa.

The Cape Verde Islands had natural resources, including salt, dyes, wood, fresh water, and wild cotton. Initially, the land was rich and fertile. The first farmers grew food to eat and had a surplus to supply ships with human cargo. Some islands had freshwater streams cutting through fertile lush valleys, like Ribeira Grande, Santiago Island. Many islands have natural harbors, bays and rivers, with fish and other seafood. Colonists also bred horses, goats, pigs and cattle. They used local lumber and stones to built homes, markets, customs houses, storage facilities, bars, rooming houses, and dens of entertainment for sailors, local colonists and anxious traders. The Cape Verde Islands became the first tropical “resort” where European sailors and merchants could rent enslaved African women, girls, men and boys for their pleasures.

The first European colonists in the Cape Verdes wrote very little about their settlements because they did not want others to know about the topical society they had created off the West African coast. However, some written documents have survived from the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries until today, and they paint “official” word-pictures of early the Cape Verde colony. Since it was a Portuguese colony, documents were written in Portuguese. They began with kings of Portugal issuing edicts about Cape Verde Islands. The oldest surviving royal edicts are stored in the Portuguese National Archive, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon.

One of the oldest manuscripts is the Cape Verde Founding Charter dated 1466.¹⁰⁶ The charter provides the most data about early Cape Verde Islands. In the founding charter, King Afonso V, granted Cape Verde colonists the perpetual right to trade with nearby West Africa—without securing a license from the king of Portugal. All non-Cape Verde colonists had to get Portuguese royal permits to trade in West Africa, and royal permits were difficult to secure. The charter linked the Cape Verde

¹⁰⁶ The Cape Verde Founding Charter of 1466 is found in English in John W. Blake, trans. and ed., *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1942), 1:64-67.

Islands to West Africa. The charter mentioned that the colonists were already importing enslaved Africans.

The Cape Verde Founding Charter also permitted colonists to ship merchandise to West Africa without paying taxes. Non-Portuguese Europeans and a few Africans were also welcomed to settle in the insular tropical Portuguese colony, and the foreigners enjoyed the rights of residents. There were a few free Africans, but most Africans were enslaved by the European colonists. By the early sixteenth century the Cape Verde capital town of Ribeira Grande had foreign merchants from Genoa, Florence, Noli, Spain, Greece, Turk or the Middle Eastern, Russian, the Low Countries, the Azores, and the Spanish Canaries.¹⁰⁷ Smart Cape Verde colonists made money importing textiles, wines, cheeses, glass, and metals from Europe, and then shipping them to West Africa, tax free. Initially, Cape Verde colonists also paid no taxes on trade with Portugal and its other insular colonies.

The first Cape Verde colonists paid taxes to the Portuguese government, a 25 percent tax on imports of human captives and merchandise from West Africa. Starting during the early 1500s, the Catholic church in the Cape Verdes collected a 5 percent import tax on enslaved Africans and cargo imported from West Africa. During the sixteenth century the Portuguese government also charged a 10 percent duty on Cape Verde imports and exports with Portugal, its colonies in Madeira and the Azores, and Spain and the Spanish Canaries. Merchants who transported captive Africans to Spain and its Atlantic colonies had to pay another tax to Spain.

Cape Verde colonists became wealthy because the tiny islands traded with an immense region of West Africa, stretching from River Senegal to Sierra Leone (map). Surviving customs records for 1513-1516 and 1528 gives an estimate of the legal commerce. Customs officers based on Santiago Island recorded the name of over 1,000 Cape Verde colonists who sailed to West Africa, where the men transported over 4,400 captives, as slaves from West Africans to the Cape Verde Islands.¹⁰⁸ This level of human trafficking was normal in the early sixteenth century, and it increased over the next generations. The Cape Verde Islands was the major supplier of enslaved Africans to Europe and its Old World colonies, before, during and after Christopher Columbus sailed to the Americas.

During the early sixteenth century, the Cape Verde colony shipped many of the first enslaved Africans to the Spanish Caribbean. Much of this nascent transatlantic commerce went unrecorded in Cape Verde records. Widespread smuggling dominated early maritime trade from the Cape Verde Islands to the Spanish Caribbean.¹⁰⁹ The onset of smuggling may be traced to the beginning of colonization in the 1460s, when the government of Portugal tried to increase the number of ships

¹⁰⁷ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757.

¹⁰⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757, the years 1513-1516; Ibid., livro 528, the year 1528. These customs receipt books were written by customs agents who collected import taxes from Cape Verde colonists who traded in West Africa, and returned to the Cape Verde colony.

¹⁰⁹ In 1514 King Manuel I of Portugal issued Laws Regulating Trade with Guine (West Africa). He stated that Cape Verde colonists were trading illegally with the Spanish Indies. Ordenacoes Manuelians, livro v, edicao 1797 (Lisboa: Fundacao Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984), 343-346.

trading with the distant tropical islands. In order to increase commerce, the founding charter ordered all Portuguese vessels that traded in West Africa to navigate to the Cape Verde Islands and pay taxes there before returning to Portugal. This decision led to smuggling, when pilots missed the islands and avoided paying taxes. At that time, only Portuguese ships trade legally on the West African mainland. However, smugglers simply sailed from European waters to the rich and unsupervised waters off the Cape Verde Islands and West Africa. While very few smugglers were caught, a few were arrested, tortured, and burnt alive for selling weapons to Muslims in West Africa.¹¹⁰

Cape Verde colonists received a founding charter filled with generous tax concessions because the brother of the king of Portugal owned the islands. Initially, Prince Henry the Navigator owned the Cape Verde Islands because he had employed Antonio de Noli, who discovered them. When Prince Henry died in 1460, leaving no children, he bequeathed the Cape Verdes to his grandnephew, Prince Ferdinand, brother of the king. During the first four years of settlement, after 1462, the islands made no profit for Prince Ferdinand; they may have cost him money. However, the prince knew the islands had potential, and asked his brother for help. The king of Portugal, Afonso V, granted Cape Verde colonists a founding charter that attracted ship-owning settlers and increased maritime traffic with the isolated Atlantic archipelago. The Cape Verde Founding Charter included generous tax-breaks and a wide franchise, where colonists paid little taxes and did what they wanted to make money, and then answered to no one. Laissez faire capitalism began outside of Europe in the unregulated insular Portuguese colonies off West Africa in the fifteenth century. Kings in Europe and the Catholic Church had rules and regulations against capitalism.

In 1466 when the king of Portugal issued the founding charter, the Cape Verde Islands was not a very strategic location; in reality, it was the most remote European colonial settlement in the Atlantic. Mariners from Europe had not yet sailed to the Gold Coast in West Africa and Sao Tome Island (1471), or the Americas (1492) or India (1498). The first Cape Verde colonists lived almost three months round-trip-sailing time to Portugal. Yet, later on, Cape Verde would be located only one-month sailing time to Barbados or Brazil. The Cape Verde Islands became prosperous, for Europeans, in the fifteenth century thanks to the founding charter, peace, and European colonists who organized and operated maritime trade with Europe, West Africa, and other Atlantic islands.

The founding charter of 1466 confirmed that the first Cape Verde settlers landed four years before the charter or in 1462. The document does not name any governor nor identify any colonists. But the charter gave the first Cape Verde governor the right to collect taxes for the Portuguese royal family. The governor stored royal revenues at Ribeira Grande, the first settlement on Santiago Island, and then the royal family sent a ship from Portugal to collect the duties. Ships were the only

¹¹⁰ In 1460 Diego Gomes claimed that while in West Africa, he ordered Goncalo Ferriera to capture the ship of the Spanish interloper, De Prado, who traded armaments with Muslims. The Portuguese captured De Prado and King Afonso V of Portugal ordered him burnt alive with his gold. See, "A Castilian Interloper in Guinea, c.1460," in Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560*, 1: 203.

means of transportation and communication with the Cape Verdes during the first centuries of occupation. Therefore ship owners, like the de Noli clan, enjoyed a monopoly over maritime transportation and communication from the Cape Verde Islands to the rest of the world.

A second surviving document, also dated 1466, identified Governor Antonio de Noli as having left the Cape Verde colony that year. The governor named his younger brother, Bartholomeu de Noli, as acting-governor.¹¹¹ The Catholic Church record does not say where Governor Antonio de Noli went or when he would return. This lack of data on the governor's maritime voyages into the Atlantic in 1466 was not unusual for Cape Verde islanders wrote so little. What is clear is that in 1466 Antonio de Noli was governor, and he continued to sail the Atlantic after he settled at Ribeira Grande. Not much more is known about Governor Antonio de Noli during his first decade in office (1462-1472).

His second decade began differently in 1472, when Governor de Noli sailed from the Cape Verde Islands to the Portuguese Madeira Islands, and then navigated south to trade illegally on the Gold Coast, in modern-day Ghana. This long Atlantic trading adventure confirmed Governor de Noli was an exceptional ship captain and navigator (map). He mastered winds and currents in the Atlantic that ran between Europe and West Africa, north of the equator. The governor paid close attention to Portuguese maritime explorers of his day, especially to pilots who were mapping the West African coast. From 1469 to 1471 the Portuguese mapped the coast from Sierra Leone to the Gold Coast (map). The Portuguese had sailed to the equator in 1471, and just one year later Governor de Noli was trading there, in his own ship.

It makes sense that Governor de Noli learned about the Gold Coast soon after the first Portuguese ships sailed there. The first ship on the Gold Coast belonged to Fernao Gomes, a rich Lisbon based businessman. Upon departing from the Gold Coast and returning to Portugal, the pilot navigated close to the West African littoral of Ivory Coast, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Senegal. Then, in Senegal or maybe Sierra Leone the vessel sailed west into the Atlantic, towards the Cape Verde Islands. Then, it navigated north towards Portugal, possibly sailing through the Azores.

The voyage from the Gold Coast to Portugal was determined by Atlantic winds and currents in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is very likely that the first Portuguese ship on the Gold Coast in 1471 stopped in the Cape Verde Islands or along the West African coast, on the return voyage to Europe. The crew told of a coast of gold, where they traded goods of little value for gold. Years later many sailors deserted Portuguese ships in Cape Verde Islands and along the nearby West African coast. One such sailor may have showed Governor de Noli the way to the Gold Coast, for a high price.

The information about the Gold Coast expedition of Governor de Noli comes from a lawsuit filed in Portugal in 1472, by the Portuguese businessman, Fernao Gomes. Gomes accused the un-named Cape Verde governor of sailing his own ship

¹¹¹ Licenciado George Cardoso, *Agiogio Lvsitano Dos Santos E Vareons Ilvstres Em Virtvde Do Reino De Portugal, E Svas Conqvistas, 1652* (Lisboa: Livraria d'Alcobaca).

from the Cape Verde Islands, to the Madeira Islands to buy supplies, and then trading illegally on the Gold Coast—of modern-day Ghana. Antonio de Noli was definitely that un-named Cape Verde governor, because he was the only known Cape Verde governor at that time. It is strange that Governor de Noli was not identified by his name, but only by his title.

Back in 1469, the plaintiff Fernao Gomes purchased a license from the Portuguese government giving him a monopoly over all maritime trade in West Africa, south of Sierra Leone. Gomes had to map the West African coastline south of Sierra Leone, where Prince Henry the Navigator had stopped when he died in 1460. From 1469 to 1471, Gomes's ships mapped the African littoral from Sierra Leone to Liberia, Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and modern-day Nigeria and Cameroon. They also reached the equator. Then, in 1472 Fernao Gomes accused the Cape Verde governor of violating the 1469 license by trading along the Gold Coast.

The king of Portugal, Afonso V agreed with Gomes and ruled against the Cape Verde governor. His ruling is dated 1472 and appears in the form of a royal edict. The document did not name the Cape Verde governor by name. The edict prohibited Cape Verde colonists from trading on the Gold Coast. It also prohibited Cape Verde colonists from sending their ships and trading south of Sierra Leone. In addition, the king ordered Cape Verde colonists to ship to West Africa only goods grown or produced on the islands. This would stop colonists from importing merchandise from Europe, Azores, Madeira and the Canaries, and shipping it, tax-free, to West Africa. The king told Cape Verde Islanders that they could only bring enslaved Africans to the islands for personal use, and not for export to Europe or other islands.¹¹² These restrictions would have crippled the nascent but flourishing Cape Verde economy.

The king of Portugal made his money by leasing sections along the West African coast to private contractors, and he did not want Cape Verde colonists to interfere with the leases. This is clear in the lease to Fernao Gomes, and the royal edict of 1472 protecting Gomes from Antonio de Noli. There was one small problem with the king of Portugal leasing West Africa to private merchants; however, Portugal had not conquered West Africa. Thus, private Portuguese businessmen interacted with the West Africans living along the mainland facing the Cape Verde Islands. Africans did not deal with the government of Portugal, but with men who wanted to make money by selling merchandise and human beings as slaves.

Cape Verde colonists simply ignored the Portuguese royal edict that restricted their maritime trade to designated sections of West Africa. The colonists looked at the 1472 royal edicts as violating their 1466 founding charter which permitted trading with all of West Africa, except Arguim Island in Mauritania. The founding charter had been issued just six years before, by the same king, Afonso V. In reality, Cape Verde colonists sailed where they wanted, traded where they desired, and sold enslaved Africans where it was most profitable. Laws issued in Portugal had no influence in the early Cape Verde colony.

¹¹² Antonio Carreira, Cabo Verde, Formacao E Extincao De Uma Sociedade Escravocrata, 1460-1878 (Mira-Sintra: Grafica Europam, 1983), 31-39.

The Portuguese king did nothing to enforce his royal edict on Cape Verde colonists, because the king's brother owned the islands. Portugal exercised little power over its first Cape Verde colonists, and less power over European ships sailing Atlantic waters around the Cape Verde Islands and West Africa. Initially, if the king of Portugal had sent a few troops to the tiny Cape Verde settlement, then he could have easily enforced his royal edict. The Portuguese could have also sent a few war ships to patrol Cape Verdean and West African waters. Just a few vessels with cannons would have received respect from un-armed Cape Verde merchant ships, and smugglers. During the fifteenth century, Cape Verde settlements consisted of only a few hundred Europeans who had no power to resist Portuguese navy ships and a few armed soldiers.

The Cape Verde Islands and the adjacent West African littoral stretching from River Senegal to Liberia were initially a lawless un-administered maritime triangle dominated by ships from the Cape Verde Islands. The colonists were enjoying their founding charter to trade with West Africa. By 1500, mulatto children of the first Portuguese men who lived in West Africa began to participate in shore-to-ship commerce from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands. Mulattos with African mothers enjoyed citizenship in many non-Muslim matrilineal West African cultures. The mulattos exercised political and economic power over maritime trade between the Cape Verde Islands and West Africa because they were perfect intermediaries with their white European fathers and black African mothers.

A mulatto class also emerged in the early Cape Verde Islands where very few European women lived among many European men. Although it is documented in no known written manuscripts, European men had intimate relationships with African women. This can be seen in a mulatto population that emerged in early Cape Verde society. Just like West Africa, the Cape Verde mulatto class had Portuguese fathers and African mothers. However, in Portuguese culture, children inherited the lineage of their Portuguese fathers. Mulattos in the Cape Verde Islands saw themselves as superior to Africans. However, mulatta women were considered the most beautiful women in the Cape Verde Islands where they were more desirable than European or African women.

Then in 1476, after making a lot of money, Governor Antonio de Noli's world came crashing down, when Spanish troops invaded the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands and captured him in his fine house in Ribeira Grande. During all his adventures, Antonio de Noli wrote nothing that has survived. No portrait of Governor Antonio de Noli is known to have ever existed, but there is written information about the man and his family in archives across Iberia.

Governor Antonio de Noli: Captured by Spanish Troops and Prisoner in Spain, 1476

The most detailed records of Antonio de Noli, the man, come from the Spaniards when they captured him from the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands in 1476 and transported him to Spain as a prisoner of war. The Portuguese wrote so little, and the Spaniards wrote a lot, often in triplicate. In 1475 Portugal and Spain went to

war, again. Although the Iberian neighbors are both Christians, there was no love lost between the two countries. This is true even today. However, things were different in the fifteenth century between colonists of Portugal in Cape Verde Islands, and Spanish colonists in the Canary Islands. The islanders traded and evaded paying taxes to Iberian monarchs and the Catholic church.

As early as 1469 the Portuguese king permitted Spaniards to trade with the Cape Verde Islands in order to boost the colony's economy, and benefit Prince Ferdinand, who owned the islands. On 30 September 1469 the Portuguese royal family signed a contract with two Spanish merchants, Joao de Lugo and Pedro de Lugo, permitting them to trade in the Cape Verde Islands. At this time the most valuable Cape Verde exports were horses and enslaved Africans—and the Spaniards did not buy horses. The Spaniards agreed to pay Portuguese customs duties on their imports and exports.¹¹³ Maritime trade flourished among the Cape Verde Islands, Spain and its Canary Island colony from 1469 into the 1470s. During the fifteenth century, Spanish merchants in Seville, Valencia and the Canary Islands purchased thousands of captive Africans in the Cape Verde Islands, along with raw cotton, hides and ivory from West Africa.¹¹⁴ There is little mention of gold in Cape Verde trade records, but the precious metal was traded.

Most maritime commerce between the Cape Verde Islands and the Spanish world went unrecorded in fifteenth-and-sixteenth-century Cape Verde and Portuguese records. Documentation of the trade comes mostly from Spanish records. The Cape Verde Islands provided Spain and its colonists in the Canary Islands with a legal Portuguese territory where Spaniards could buy enslaved Africans, and secure African merchandise, without sailing illegally to West Africa. Although the trade began in the fifteenth century data only emerge on the Cape Verde Islands in early sixteenth century. Cape Verde customs records from 1513-1516 show the Portuguese overcharged Spaniards and sold them enslaved West Africans for the highest price.¹¹⁵ According to the Cape Verde colony's customs records from 1513 to 1516, ships from Spain and the Canary Islands purchased some six hundred enslaved Africans in the Cape Verde Islands, and that was only the legal commerce.¹¹⁶

During peaceful times, maritime commerce flourished among the Cape Verde Islands, Europe, West Africa, and Iberian insular colonies. Then in 1475, Portugal and Spain went to war, and the fighting spread from Europe to the Portuguese Cape Verde colony and along the West African coast. War was bad for business, except for merchants selling armaments, ships, and horses, and supplying soldiers.

¹¹³ The 1469 royal edict with the two Spanish merchants has been translated into English in, Blake, *Europeans in West Africa*, 1: 203-205.

¹¹⁴ Between 1489 and 1497 the Florentine merchant Cesare de Barchi sold over 2,000 enslaved Wolofs whom his men transported from the Cape Verde Islands to Valencia, Spain. See Jacques Heers, *Escravos E Servidao Domestica Na Idade Media* (Lisboa: Publicacoes Dom Quixote, 1983), 138-139.

¹¹⁵ Customs records from the three customs houses in Santiago Island for 1513-1516 show the most expensive enslaved Africans appraised by Cape Verde customs officers were sold to Spaniard, see Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757.

¹¹⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757, dates 1513-1516.

The Spaniards knew the Cape Verde Islands were rich, because they traded there, legally, for years, and they wanted some of the gold.

In 1476 a Spanish fleet invaded the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands. The Spaniards attacked the unfortified Santiago Island and captured the capital, Ribeira Grande, meeting no resistance. They looted the town, and forced the terrified population to flee with the clothes on their backs, and a few valuable possessions under their arms or on backs of horses, mules, donkeys, and enslaved Africans. During the fog of war, some enslaved Africans escaped, as they did in future invasions of islands on both sides of the Atlantic. Enslaved Africans, Maroons, European convicts, and European indentured servants prayed for a foreign invasion, because it brought freedom.

The Spaniards invaded Ribeira Grande in 1476, captured Governor Antonio de Noli, and took him to Spain as a prisoner of war. The governor probably saw himself as an Italian caught in the middle of an Iberian war—this was not his fight—but he was wrong. It is not known why Governor de Noli did not flee inland to avoid the Spanish troops which is what other Cape Verde colonists did. There is no information about the governor's ship, his family or his gold. Governor de Noli was very confident in his abilities, and probably thought he could talk or buy his way out of Spanish captivity but he was wrong. Governor de Noli saw Spanish forces loot his fine home in Ribeira Grande and pillage the small town he founded.

The Spanish invaders did not pursue fleeing Portuguese colonists over the steep hills and down deep valleys of Santiago Island. The Spaniards also did not attack any of the other Cape Verde islands, other than Santiago. Spain kept control of the Cape Verde Island for only a few months, before withdrawing its troops prior to an expected Portuguese counterattack.

Before departing the Cape Verde colony, Spanish troops took 300¹¹⁷ enslaved Africans whom Portuguese and other European colonists held in bondage in Ribeira Grande. This is the first historical evidence of large-scale enslavement of West Africans in the Cape Verde Islands—and the information comes from the Spaniards in 1476.

A decade earlier in 1466, the founding charter mentioned Cape Verde islanders importing enslaved Africans, and the 1469 contract with Spanish merchants probably involved enslaved Africans. However, early Portuguese colonists wrote little about themselves and less about the Africans they held in captivity. The enslaved Africans worked Cape Verde cotton and sugar fields, as well as grew food, and performed domestic laborer.

Enslaved African women were forced to be sex slaves to European men, and were mothers of a mulatto majority in the early Cape Verdes. It is possible that enslaved Africans comprised a majority of the population of Santiago Island as early as the 1470s. Africans were the majority in the Cape Verde Islands back in 1460, when Antonio de Noli and Diego Gomes discovered the islands because their

¹¹⁷ Mosen Diego de Valera, *Cronica de los Reys Catolicos* (de., Juan de M.Carriazo, 1927), ch. 22, p. 82, in Blake, *Europeans in West Africa*, 1: 217-218.

two ships had more enslaved Africans onboard than European officers, crew, and merchants.

In 1476 victorious Spaniards transported the defeated Governor Antonio de Noli from Cape Verde Islands to Spain and held him as a prisoner of war. The Portuguese government did not do anything to free Governor de Noli from Spanish prison in 1476 and 1477. The governor had to find his own ticket to freedom. Portugal was fighting to keep from becoming a Spanish province, and had no time for one Italian prisoner of war. At first, Spanish captors tried to ransom Governor de Noli to rich Genoese businessmen in Seville for 1,000 doublos in gold but the plan failed.¹¹⁸

Rich Genoese businessmen had influence and power in Spain's royal courts. The Catholic kings borrowed money from Genoese merchants to finance wars, balance budgets and pay for capital projects including roads, canals, and the Spanish army and navy. The monarchs of Spain listened to rich Genoese businessmen before they heard their own subjects who held Governor de Noli captive. Money was more important than nationality to the Catholic kings who were still battling Muslims in southern Spain.

On 6 June 1477 King Ferdinand of Spain freed the Genoese Antonio de Noli by royal edict. According to the Spanish document, Antonio de Noli promised to govern the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands as a Spanish colony, and the decree warned Spaniards not to attack the Cape Verde Islands again.¹¹⁹ At the time when he negotiated his freedom from Spain, Governor de Noli probably thought Spain retained military control of the Cape Verde Islands, but he was wrong. War between Portugal and Spain continued through 1477 and 1478 and ended in 1479 with the Treaty of Alcáçovas. The protocol gave the Cape Verde Islands back to Portugal, and Governor de Noli lost the islands he had discovered, colonized and governed. In 1477, the Cape Verde governor joined his brother, the murderer Bartholomeu de Noli, as a wanted man in Portugal and its colonies.

The fifteenth-century Spanish chronicle, *Mosen Diego de Valera* recorded that King Ferdinand of Spain freed Governor Antonio de Noli while the monarch was in Medina del Campo, Spain. Governor de Noli went to thank the Spanish king personally, but no records confirm any meeting between the king and de Noli. Spanish records show the king authorized his government to give Governor de Noli proper clothing, a horse, and probably some money for expenses. After that, Antonio de Noli is said to have ridden his horse from Spain to Portugal.¹²⁰ He vanished during the overland ride!

Disappearing saved his life. It would have been suicide for Governor de Noli to go to Portugal in 1477, and although he had made mistakes, he was not a fool. In 1477 Governor de Noli had many reasons to avoid Portugal and its colonies. First, Spain and Portugal were in the middle of a bloody war on land and sea, and Iberia

¹¹⁸ *Epistolas de Mosen Diego de Valera* (1878) pp.70-74 in Blake, *Ibid.*, 1: 219-220.

¹¹⁹ The entire Spanish royal edict is translated into English in Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, trans. Yvonne Freccero (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 176-177.

¹²⁰ Diego de Valera, *Cronica de los Reyes Catolicos*, 217-218.

and its waters were dangerous. Second, Governor de Noli had just betrayed Portugal, when he agreed to rule the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands as a Spanish colony—in exchange for his freedom. Third, many Portuguese would have tortured and executed Antonio de Noli as a traitor. But if Governor de Noli did not ride that horse from Spain to Portugal in the summer of 1477, then where did he go? That remains a major de Noli family secret.

Portuguese written records were largely silent about Antonio de Noli even when he governed its Cape Verde colony from 1462 to 1476, and not much was written after the governor vanished in 1477. The Portuguese rarely mentioned Governor Antonio de Noli by name, even when he was alive. There are two exceptions: the first is the royal edict of 1462 which identifies Antonio de Noli as discovering the Cape Verde Islands, while Prince Henry the Navigator lived. A second royal edict in 1497 named Antonio de Noli as discoverer, first colonizer and governor of the Cape Verde Islands. But in the lawsuit of 1472, the Cape Verde governor is not identified by his name, when he was clearly the defendant in the litigation. Then again in 1481, King Joao II of Portugal issued an edict against the Cape Verde governor, but did not name Antonio de Noli.

Not surprisingly, the Portuguese documents said nothing about Governor de Noli when he was captured by Spain in 1476. The Portuguese remained silent about the governor during the entire next decade, the 1480s. King Joao II ruled Portugal from 1481 to 1495, and he never mentioned the name Antonio de Noli. Only after he died in 1495 did his successor, Manuel I (1495-1521) mention Governor Antonio de Noli, in 1497. The Portuguese records are also silent about members of the de Noli family who returned to Italy from Portugal and the Cape Verde Islands. However, Italian archival records mention a Simone of Antonio de Noli “Bondi,” who went to Cesena, Italy, around 1480-1490, from abroad with a fortune in gold. Simone was a son of Governor de Noli or maybe, the child of his brother Bartholomeu or nephew Raphael de Noli.¹²¹ It is possible the Portuguese went back through their official documents, and attempted to erase the names Antonio de Noli and members of his family the Cape Verde Islands—but why?

An answer to the mystery may be found with King Joao II, the Portuguese master spy who also controlled the Cape Verde Islands. In 1471 Prince Joao, the future King Joao II, received control and rent from Portuguese colonies in West Africa, including the Cape Verde Islands. The prince collected his royal revenues, including rental fees from Fernao Gomes for the Gold Coast, but he did nothing about running the colonies.¹²² The prince had to have known what Governor Antonio de Noli was doing, especially in 1477, when de Noli betrayed Portugal in the middle of war

¹²¹ I thank Professor Emeritus Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Med.dr. Ph.D., for bringing my attention to this finding, see Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Dr. Carla Rosetti and Dr. Ilaria Brigati, “Returning to Italy. Historical and genealogical research on Antonio de Noli’s family descendants in Cesena and Genoa, 1497,” *Bulletin of Antonio de Noli Academic Society*, vol. 1, no. 4 (available on-line). See also *Grande Enciclopedia Portuguesa e Brasileira* (ed., 1945), vol. xviii, p. 386.

¹²² The royal chronicle of Damiao De Gois looks at Prince Joao only as a prince, before 1481 when he became King Joao II. Damiao De Gois, *Cronica Do Principe D. Joao, 1567*, ed., Graca Almeida Rodrigues (Lisboa: Universidade Nova De Lisboa, 1977), 78-79.

against Spain. Only one month after becoming king of Portugal in 1481, King Joao II issued an edict against Governor Antonio de Noli, dated 30 September 1481—without naming the Cape Verde governor by name. In the edict, King Joao II sent Pedro Lourenco from Portugal to investigate the Cape Verde colony, and gave him the special judicial power to arrest any Cape Verde governors who returned to the islands.¹²³ That was a warning to Governor Antonio de Noli and his brother, the murderer and former acting-governor, Bartholomeu de Noli. The edict may have been directed specifically against Bartholomeu de Noli for his murder of a Catholic priest in Ribeira Grande in 1466. The Catholic Church had many powerful friends in fifteenth-century Portugal.

After Governor de Noli vanished from Spain, the Portuguese kept his Cape Verde governorship vacant for twenty years (1477-1497). The decision was made by King Joao II as a monarch and before that, as a prince. This was unusual because fifteenth century Portuguese kings appointed new governors to fill other vacant Cape Verde governorships. For example, in 1473, Rodrigo Afonso received the governorship of Alcatrazes, the northern half of Santiago Island, from Diego Afonso.¹²⁴ As king of Portugal, Joao II used the Cape Verde Islands as one of his secret maritime base in West Africa, from where he launched voyages of discovery to map wind and ocean currents in the South Atlantic. The information comes from Christopher Columbus. In 1498 on his third voyage from Europe to America, Columbus sailed to the Cape Verde Islands and reported that some colonists in Ribeira Grande told him that the King Joao II of Portugal sent ships into the ocean south-west of the Cape Verde Islands.¹²⁵

Something strange was going on between the de Noli family, the Cape Verde Islands and Portuguese kings in the fifteenth century. King Joao II is known to have expunged sections of the official Portuguese royal archives in order to hide state secrets, and he may have had his reasons to erase mention of Governor Antonio de Noli and the Cape Verde Islands.¹²⁶ It is not known if King Joao II met Governor Antonio de Noli, but both men were adults in the decades of the 1470s and 1480s. Each man had a keen interest in the Cape Verde Islands and maritime exploration of the mid-Atlantic Ocean. Some Portuguese and Spaniards claim Christopher Columbus and other Italians spied for King Joao II of Portugal.¹²⁷ Others claim Joao II

¹²³ This was one of King Joao II's first edicts. It was issued at Montemor o Novo, and recorded by royal scribe Christovao Bairos. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Affonso V, Livro 26, fol. 140v in Barcellos, Subsidios Para A Historia De Dabo Verde E Guine, 1: 40-42.

¹²⁴ Luis De Albuquerque and Maria Emilia Madeira Santos, eds., Historia Geral De Cabo Verde (Lisboa: Instituto De Investigacao Cientificas Tropical, 1991), 50.

¹²⁵ Samuel Eliot Morison, Admiral of the Ocean Sea, A Life of Christopher Columbus (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1983), 519-521.

¹²⁶ The Portuguese scholar Braamcamp Freire published surviving archival documents from the reign of King Joao II (1481-1495), and reported that all the documents for 1485 are missing, and the last document is dated 11 December 1492, and the king died in 1495, and all documents are missing for 1493, 1494 and 1495. Armando Cortesao, The Mystery of Vasco da Gama (Coimbra: Agrupamento De Estudos de Cartografia Antiga), 175.

¹²⁷ Mascarenhas Barreto, O Portugues Cristovao Colombo, Agente Secreto Do Rei Dom Joao II (Lisboa: Edicoes Referendo, 1988). Barreto claims that Columbus was a secret agent spying for Joao II king of Portugal.

used the Cape Verde Islands as a secret naval base to map the Brazil and the South Atlantic after Bartholomeu Dias returned to Portugal from South Africa, in 1488.¹²⁸

It is clear the Portuguese conducted undocumented maritime expeditions into the South Atlantic in preparation for the voyage Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal to India in 1497 and back in 1499. The Portuguese had to find two direct round-trip shipping lanes from Cape Verde Islands to South Africa and back. Sometimes, scholars forget they also had to discover a direct maritime route from South Africa back to the Cape Verde Islands, even before they embarked for India. In 1497 Vasco da Gama stopped in the Cape Verde Islands on his way to India, and sailed from Santiago Island directly to South Africa. On his way home from India, da Gama sailed from South Africa to Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese knew where they were going and how to get there, as proven by the three year voyage to India and back—without losing a ship.

Before 1492, the Cape Verde Islands were the closest Old World European settlement to the Americas. The Cape Verde Islands is close to Barbados in the Caribbean. The strategic maritime location of the Cape Verde Islands along the shipping lanes to the Americas and India, transformed the islands and its governor into a central actors in the secret Portuguese search for India at the end of the fifteenth century.

Cape Verde Governorship Inherited by Noblewoman, Dona Branca de Aguiar: Daughter of Governor Antonio de Noli, 1497

King Joao II ruled from 1481 to 1495 without ever writing the name Antonio de Noli, and then just two years after he died the new Portuguese king, Manuel I (1495-1521) confirmed Antonio de Noli was the discoverer and first settler of the Cape Verde Islands. Even more important, the royal edict of 1497 said Governor Antonio de Noli had a daughter (Appendix, 1497 royal edict). The daughter was a Portuguese noblewoman named Dona Branca de Aguiar. No other sources mention the governor as having any children. Yet, the royal edict did not name the mother of Dona Branca de Aguiar, nor did it say if Governor de Noli was married or single, or dead or alive. Once again, this is not normal in Portuguese archival records. Usually, when a child received the governorship, the governor is identified as dead or having renounced his governorship — but not in this case.

Because Governor de Noli's daughter was a Portuguese noblewoman, genealogical records about her still exist in libraries and archives across Portugal. Under normal circumstances, the genealogical records of Portuguese nobles would have named the wife of Governor Antonio de Noli, if he had one, and provide data about her noble Portuguese family. If the governor's child was born out of wedlock, then the records may not have identified the mother. However, when it comes to written documents about the de Noli family, many other records are also missing.

This much is documented: fifteenth-century Portuguese manuscripts list Governor Antonio de Noli's daughter as Dona Branca de Aguiar, a noblewoman in

¹²⁸ Armando Cortesao, *The Mystery of Vasco da Gama* (Coimbra: Agrupamento De Estudos De Cartografia Antiga, 1973), 157-164.

the de Aguiar family. She had the noble title of Dona, and the last name of de Aguiar. Many de Aguiar nobles lived in Portugal and the Madeiras during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We can calculate the approximate age of Dona Branca de Aguiar. She was old enough to get married in 1497 and young enough to have children soon thereafter. Thus, she was probably born in the 1470s or 1480s. Fifteenth-century Portuguese noblewomen and noblemen married very young; sometimes noblewomen married in their early teens, and noblemen waited until they were older.

Since Governor Antonio de Noli had a daughter, the next question is: did he have a wife? This is likely, because the mother of his child was a Portuguese noblewoman, and they usually have noblemen husbands. However, many noblemen had children with single noblewomen. The nobles often request that the king make their children legitimate nobles. The Italian Antonio de Noli was not a Portuguese nobleman, but was a nobleman in Italy.¹²⁹ Yet, his daughter, Dona Branca de Aguiar was a legitimate Portuguese noblewoman, because the king of Portugal said so, or because she had a noble mother.

A review of the fifteenth-century Portuguese nobility shows the mother of Dona Branca de Aguiar probably met Governor de Noli in the Madeira Islands, where Portuguese genealogical records list two different noblewomen named Dona Branca de Aguiar. One Dona Branca de Aguiar was the great-granddaughter of the first governor of the Madeira Islands, the great Dom Joao Goncalves Zarco. It is documented that Governor Antonio de Noli visited the Madeira Islands on a number of occasions in the 1460s and 1470s, and had an opportunity to have met Dona Branca de Aguiar. Among Portuguese nobles, some daughters and mothers have the same names, especially when the mother died in childbirth. During these times governing families of different Portuguese islands were often linked by marriages.

In the Portuguese royal edict of 1497, the king of Portugal stipulated that Dona Branca de Aguiar must marry a nobleman from his household in order to receive her father's Cape Verde governorship. Then mysteriously the king's original edict was altered to have it read that Governor Antonio de Noli was dead. A look at the original Portuguese royal edict of 1497 shows clearly that someone crossed out the fifteenth word *parte* and substituted *morte* just above (Appendix, royal edict of 1497). There was no attempt to hide the change. In this linguistic context, the Portuguese words, *parte* means on behalf of Governor de Noli, and *morte* means upon the death of the governor. The change had the edict read "upon the death of Antonio de Noli."

In fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portuguese royal scribes followed protocol. Whenever a scribe wrote the name of a dead person, then it was followed by the bereavement phrase *que Deus aja* or the person is with God in heaven. However, in the edict of 1497, the royal scribes did not write the standard bereavement clause

¹²⁹ Joao de Barros, *L'Asia*, Dec. I. lib. 2 cap.1., Republished by Vincenzo Valgrisi, Venice, 1562. I thank Professor Emeritus Marcello Ferrada de Noli for informing me about this important source.

saying Antonio de Noli was with God.¹³⁰ If Antonio de Noli were dead, then the bereavement clause would have appeared immediately following his name. Two things are clear, first King Manuel I (1495-1521) of Portugal, had no idea who Antonio de Noli was, and second the king did not know if Antonio de Noli was dead or alive.

Furthermore, Portuguese royal scribes did not simply cross out a word in a royal edict and write a new word above it. In Portugal, the king's words were law, and there can be no doubt about those words. If a royal scribe made an error when writing a royal edict, then he had to re-write the entire document—until it is perfect. The amanuenses were well paid to copy official manuscripts perfectly. These specialized royal scribes did an excellent job writing royal edicts and other government documents. After almost three decades of reading Early Modern Portuguese manuscripts, I have never seen a royal edict with a word crossed out and another word written above—until the 1497 royal edict about Governor Antonio de Noli.

An official royal copy of the 1497 royal edict permits the dating of the unauthorized change in the document. In the copy, the word *parte* is underlined, which suggests the copier saw the crossed out word in the original edict, and wanted to emphasize the king stated *parte*. Thus, the copy was written after the change had been made to the original edict; if not the word *parte* would not have been underlined.

Historians date documents through various techniques. During the first half of the sixteenth-century, kings in Portugal wanted to stop peasants from entering royal palaces to consult official royal documents. The monarchs decided to duplicate official documents, including the 1497 royal edict. King Manuel I (1495-1521) and Joao III (1521-1557) commanded that exact copies be made of royal records. In theory, citizens could read the copies and stop visiting royal palaces. Thus, the copy of the 1497 royal edict had to be written after the original was issued, and before the copying project ended in the mid-sixteenth century.¹³¹ This copying went on for only about fifty years. Thus, the change in the 1497 edict was made during the first half of the sixteenth century.

The true de Noli family mystery is not who changed the Portuguese royal edict to have it read that Governor de Noli was dead, but what happened to Governor de Noli in 1477? A governor does not just vanish. It is not known, when, where, and how Governor de Noli died, but he is dead and has been for centuries. Nothing is written about him after 1477, when the Cape Verde governor was last seen alive in Spain. Twenty years later in 1497, a Portuguese royal edict suggests the governor

¹³⁰ Royal scribes working for the king of Portugal and his family followed protocol set by the Catholic church when mentioning God and deceased Christians, who are said to be with God. After writing the name of a dead person, then royal scribes added the bereavement phrase, “que Dios aja,” meaning, who is with God. See a 1502 Portuguese royal document about trade in West Africa, Upper Guinea Coast. Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Ms. 737, (D.G), fols. 68, published in Brasio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africa*, 2:5-7.

¹³¹ Vitorino Magalhaes Godinho, *Os Descobimentos E A Economia Mundial* (Lisboa: Editorial Presence, 1983), 4: 232.

was not returning to the Cape Verde Islands, since his governorship went to his daughter. But the 1497 royal edict never said the governor was dead.

Yet, most modern-day studies accept the date in the altered Portuguese royal edict and conclude that Governor Antonio de Noli died in 1497, the same year his daughter inherited his Cape Verde governorship. They assume that if Antonio de Noli's daughter received her father's Cape Verde governorship, then he must be dead. That is not accurate! I drew the same inaccurate conclusion in an older study. Most of the times a child inherit the governorship of his/her father when the father died. However, there are exceptions. Many times, the rightful heirs are too young, and regents rule for them.

Bartholomeu de Noli and Raphael de Noli: Relatives of Governor Antonio de Noli

Bartholomeu de Noli and his older brother Antonio joined their nephew Raphael de Noli in sailing from the Mediterranean to Portugal around 1460. Yet, there is only one document mentioning Bartholomeu de Noli in fifteenth-century Cape Verde records, and no reference at all to the nephew, Raphael de Noli. This is not unusual because few records about fifteenth century Cape Verde colonists have survived. The Portuguese wrote little about Antonio de Noli, and he was a discoverer, the first colonizer and governor. Both Bartholomeu de Noli and Raphael de Noli lived mysterious lives. The three de Noli men all lived as if they were hiding a family secret. This may not be the case and it may only look like that because there are so few written records from midfifteenth century.

Some members of the de Noli family lived on the other side of the law. Maybe the de Noli family secrets were murder in Cape Verde Islands in 1466, piracy on the Gold Coast in 1472, and treason against Portugal in 1477. These activities may explain why the de Noli's yearned for privacy. However, there was little in the way of law enforcement in early Cape Verde Islands. The colony had no naval patrol, and there were no police on land. The Portuguese king was weak and the Catholic church was weaker.

A1466 Catholic church document reported that Bartholomeu de Noli killed a priest in the Cape Verde Islands. The manuscript recorded the names of Catholic priests martyred in Portugal and its overseas colonies. One entry is about a murder in Ribeira Grande, Santiago Island. The entry is short, but bloody. It began in early 1466 when two Franciscan priests, Father Rodrigo and Father Jaime, sailed to the newly settled Cape Verde Islands. They probably embarked from the Portuguese Madeira Islands, which was the bishopric in charged of the Cape Verde Islands until 1533, when the Cape Verde Islands received its own bishopric.¹³² Madeira was also the closest Portuguese colony to the Cape Verde Islands and home of many of the first Cape Verde colonists.

¹³² On 31 January 1533 Pope Clemente VII separated the Cape Verde Islands from the bishopric of Funchal, Madeira, and created a new bishopric at Santiago, Cape Verde Islands. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Bulas, 18-18 in Brasio, Monumenta Missionaria Africana, 2: 249-252.

Upon arrival at Ribeira Grande, the two Catholic priests disembarked and immediately began hearing confessions of men and women, who for years had had no priest.¹³³ A Catholic must confess mortal sins to a priest and do penance in order to be forgiven, before reaching heaven. Those Catholic who die with unconfessed mortal sins go straight to hell. Confession was a vital sacrament for Catholics to go to heaven. Priests were powerful men because they could withhold the sacraments from a person and send the person to hell.

According to the ecclesiastical entry about the Cape Verde Islands, in 1466 an unnamed single European woman living in Ribeira Grande confessed her sins to Father Rodrigo. She told the priest she lived with Bartholomeu de Noli, the acting-governor, without the sacrament of marriage, and had been doing so for a while. Her confession shows that in 1466, Bartholomeu de Noli had been in the colony for some time. The young woman was living in mortal sin, and her behavior would lead her to eternal fire in hell. The priest probably told the young single European woman to get married, or leave Bartholomeu de Noli. He warned her, if she continued to live with the man, then she would go to hell when she died, along with him. The woman took the priest's advice, left Bartholomeu de Noli, and returned to Portugal. This episode shows ships sailing between the Cape Verde Islands and Portugal in 1466.

Acting-Governor Bartholomeu de Noli blamed the priest for the woman leaving him, and became upset. There were very few single European women living in early Cape Verde colony, and Bartholomeu had brought this woman from Europe. Other European men raped enslaved African women to create the mulatto majority in the Cape Verde Islands. Bartholomeu de Noli probably paid some of the crewmen who worked aboard the de Noli ships to assassinate the old Catholic priest.¹³⁴ The assassins murdered the priest and dumped his body into the Atlantic Ocean.

Then Bartholomeu de Noli blamed the murder on the second priest, Father Jaime, and placed the priest in prison. Portuguese protest against the Italian governor in Ribeira Grande forced Bartholomeu de Noli to free Father Jaime from prison. The real murderers were never arrested or tried. After this murder, not one word is heard about Bartholomeu de Noli in the Portuguese archives. Killing a priest was a heinous crime. The murder may help explain the lack of written references about the first de Noli men in the Cape Verde Islands.

The third member of the original three de Noli ship captains who migrated from Italy was Raphael de Noli, nephew of Governor de Noli and his younger brother, Bartholomeu. Around 1460, Spanish records state that some de Noli ship captains sailed from the Mediterranean to the harbor of Seville, but identified only Antonio de Noli. The other captains were Raphael de Noli and Bartholomeu de Noli. The small de Noli fleet then navigated west to Portugal. Portuguese records say nothing

¹³³ Cardoso, *Agiologio Lvsitano Dos Santos E Vareons Ilvestres Em Virtvde Do reino De Portugal, E Svas Conqvisras* (lisboa, 1652), in Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Lisbon.

¹³⁴ An English translation of the murder is found in George Boehrer, "The Franciscans and Portuguese Colonization in Africa and Atlantic Islands, 1415-1499," *The Americas* 11, (July 1954-April 1955).

about Raphael's role in colonizing the Cape Verde Islands or even if he sailed to West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands with his uncle Antonio de Noli.

Raphael de Noli was a young adult man in 1460, and he may have fathered one of the second-generation de Noli men who served on the Ribeira Grande Town Council in 1512. This guess makes genealogical and chronological sense because the town councilmen were named de Noli. Both councilmen, Dom Joham de Noli and the second Antonio de Noli, had fathers with the de Noli surname. Governor Antonio de Noli could not have been their father because his only child recognized by the king was a daughter, named Dona Branca de Aguiar. Paternity fell on Raphael de Noli because no one wanted to admit that Bartholomeu de Noli, murderer of a priest, was his/her father. DNA research may solve the mystery, if the de Noli family had a family cemetery in the Cape Verde Islands.

Daughter and Grandchildren of Governor Antonio de Noli: Nobles and Cape Verde Governors during the First-Half of 1500s

After Governor Antonio de Noli vanished in 1477, there were two decades of silence without his name appearing in Iberian records, and then in 1497, the new king of Portugal Manuel I (1495-1521) issued a royal edict that gave Governor Antonio de Noli's Cape Verde governorship to his daughter (Appendix, 1497 edict). At this time, it was rare for a daughter to inherit her father's governorship. Normally, legitimate sons of governors inherited their father's governorships, and if a governor had no son, then the office went to his brother.¹³⁵ It is possible that King Manuel I simply wanted to fill the twenty-year vacancy in the Cape Verde governorship (1477-1497) and gave it to nobleman Dom Jorge Correa de Sousa, a loyal member of his royal household. It is not known why King Joao II (1481-1495) never appointed any new Cape Verde governor to replace Antonio de Noli. This is another example of de Noli family members being treated differently by the Portuguese royal household.

In the much cited 1497 edict, King Manuel I insisted that Dona Brance de Aguiar marry Dom Jorge Correa de Sousa, before the couple received Antonio de Noli's governorship in Cape Verde Islands. After they married, it is not known if Dona Branca de Aguiar participated in day-to-day governing of the Cape Verde colony, along with her husband. During the fifteenth century, Portuguese noblewomen learned to read and write, and some were well educated. The early Cape Verde governors served as de facto kings, because the real king was far off in Portugal. By ship, the Cape Verde Islands was located as far from Europe as the Americas. An average round-trip transatlantic voyage took three months between Europe and the Americas, and it took the same time to sail between the Cape Verde Islands and Europe (map).

Governors Dona Branca de Aguiar and her husband Dom Jorge Correa de Sousa lived in the capital Ribeira Grande at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They

¹³⁵ The *Lei Mental* that excluded daughters from inheritance of the high offices of their father did not apply to the de Noli family. Charles Verlinden, "Antonio da Noli and the Colonization of the Cape Verde Islands," in *Beginnings of Modern Colonization*, 179.

had three sons, and all inherited the Cape Verde governorship of their parents. The noble couple governed the Cape Verde Islands from 1497 into the 1520s. Then from 1524 to 1533, they sold the Cape Verde governorship to Dom Affonso de Albuquerque, son of the great Portuguese admiral in Asia. However, in 1533 a grandson of Governor Antonio de Noli, nobleman Dom Belchior Correa de Sousa, purchased the Cape Verde governorship from Dom Albuquerque, and returned it to the de Noli clan.¹³⁶ The fact that the only noblemen and noblewomen governed the Cape Verde Islands was similar to situations in the Azores, Madeiras, and Sao Tome.

The grandsons of Governor Antonio de Noli, through his only daughter ruled Cape Verde's richest governorship in Ribeira Grande for most of the first half of the sixteenth century. In 1536 Governor Dom Belchior Correa de Sousa died without leaving an heir, and the governorship went to his brother Dom Joham Correa de Sousa. He was the last grandson of Governor Antonio de Noli to be governor of the Cape Verde Islands. When he died in 1564, the de Noli governorship reverted to the Portuguese crown. During the second half of the sixteenth century, the influence of the de Noli family declined along with the colony's economy.

In 1549 the first drought appeared in Cape Verde written records, and many more would follow.¹³⁷ During later centuries, many people starved and died from a lack of fresh water. Human activities contributed to Cape Verde droughts. The first generations of Portuguese, European, and African colonists destroyed the delicate insular ecosystem by introducing goats that destroyed the islands' vegetation. The animals had no natural predators and ate almost everything that grew—even on steep hills. Colonists also introduced horses, donkeys, mules, sheep, cattle, pigs, and rats that overgrazed and destroyed the land. Settlers cut down trees for fuel and timber, and cleared farmland that they cultivated, year after year. They also supplied wood to passing ships. By the third generation the land had become less fertile, and then the rain stopped. During the sixteenth-century some members of the de Noli family moved from Santiago Island to nearby Fogo, an island with an active volcano. Periodic volcanic eruptions create unique problems, especially for cotton farmers who battled volcanic dust.

During the first century (1460-1560) the Cape Verde economy prospered with peaceful trade, except for the Portuguese versus Spanish war (1475-1479). Cape Verde's wealth depended on safe shipping lanes and maritime trade with West Africa, Europe and later on, the Americas. During the first two generations, ca.1460s to 1520s, Portugal exercised a monopoly over European maritime trade in West Africa, and most Europeans respected the Portuguese monopoly. However, by the second half of the sixteenth century, more-and-more European ships sailed around the Cape Verde Islands to West Africa, where lawlessness ruled the high seas.

¹³⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria de D. Joao III, livro 21, fols. 151-152v in Brasio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africa, Africa*, 2: 283-287.

¹³⁷ The first mention of drought affecting agriculture in the Cape Verde Islands is dated 27 October 1549, and can be found in a letter to the king of Portugal from Frei Gaspar da Silva. See Brasio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, 2: 401-403. See also K. David Patterson, "Epidemics, Famines, and Population in the Cape Verde Islands, 1580-1900, *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 21, no. 2 (1988), 291-313.

Protestant nations did not recognize Catholic papal bulls that gave West Africa to Catholic Portugal. High Portuguese taxes of up to forty percent also drove merchants away from the Cape Verde Islands. By the later sixteenth century, bigger ships with better pilots began to navigate directly between West Africa and the Americas, and there was no need to stop in the Cape Verde Islands just to pay taxes to Portugal.

In this study, human trafficking from West Africa through the Cape Verde Islands to Europe and the Americas is divided into three stages. Stage 1 operated from the 1440s to 1460, with Prince Henry the Navigator sending ships from Portugal directly to West Africa, where sailors captured Africans, and returned directly to Portugal. In Stage 2, from the 1460s to the 1530s, the Cape Verde Islanders monopolized maritime trade from West Africa into the Atlantic. Finally, Stage 3, post-1540s, called the transatlantic slave trade, saw ships sailing from West Africa directly to the Americas. Stage 3 only ended during the late nineteenth century.

The Knight Dom Joham de Noli, and The Second Antonio de Noli in the Cape Verde Island, Early 1500s

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the de Noli family flourished in the Cape Verde colony where they lived as governors, members of the Portuguese nobility, town councilmen, Knights in the Order of Santiago, plantation owners, and rich ship owning merchants. For example, in 1512 two town councilmen in Ribeira Grande, Dom Joham de Noli and the second Antonio de Noli helped to run the government of Cape Verde's capital. Dom Joham de Noli was a Portuguese nobleman and also a knight in the Order of Santiago. His title, Dom, shows he was a nobleman.

How did Dom Joham de Noli become a knight and a nobleman? Something is very strange because the Portuguese archival records do not identify Dom Joham de Noli's parents or siblings. This is very unusual in Portugal where nobles were identified as children of other nobles whose names were written in books, and stored in well-preserved family vaults. However, there is no archive for the de Noli family, and many documents about the family are missing. This alone draws attention to Dom Joham de Noli.

Dom Joham de Noli owned vast real estate holdings in Santiago Island. In 1515 he paid 33,400 reis in real estate taxes, which translates to a large estate. The Dom signed the payment of his property taxes.¹³⁸ His signature is also found on the letter from the Ribeira Grande Town Council to the king of Portugal in 1512. Dom Joham de Noli had the option of paying property taxes in cotton or cash, which suggests he farmed cotton. Men who owned cotton farms in the early Cape Verde colony also exploited the labor of enslaved Africans to grow cotton, and weave cotton cloth.¹³⁹ Irrigated sugar cane and cotton farms produced two harvests annually, while

¹³⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, liv. 757, fols. 190-192v.

¹³⁹ Ibid., fols 191-191v, 24 October, 1515.

regular farms harvested once. Cape Verde farms grew very high quality “island cotton” during the early generations.

Dom Joham also invested in human trafficking from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands. In 1528 he owned the ship *Conceicao*, which transported 113 captive Africans from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands, along with a cargo of *milho*, rice and ivory. The nobleman outfitted this ship in the Cape Verde Islands and then rented cargo space to merchants in the islands and in West Africa. His vessel sailed to West Africa where it traded, before returning to the Cape Verde Islands to pay import taxes on 5 August 1528.¹⁴⁰ Noblemen like Dom Joham de Noli did not sail physically to West Africa but instead he owned the ship that operated Stage 2 of human trafficking, where Cape Verde colonists sailed to West Africa and transported captive Africans to their insular colony, as slaves.

The wife of Dom Joham de Noli also participated in human trafficking from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands. She is an example of the role of women in human trafficking from West Africa into the European-dominated Atlantic system. Like other noblewomen and common women folks who lived in the early Cape Verde, the wife of Dom Joham de Noli did not physically sail to West Africa to secure human captives. Instead, she and other women joined the noblemen, the rich, priests, and other colonists who hired male agents in the Cape Verde Islands. Male agents then sailed to Africa and secured human captives, whom they transported to their patrons in the Cape Verde Islands.

Customs records from the Cape Verde Islands are rich enough to follow the slave trading of Dom Joham de Noli’s wife. The scribes did not call her by name, merely the wife of Dom Joham de Noli. On 3 February 1515 the ship *Santiago* sailed to Ribeira Grande customs house after trading in West Africa. It had been outfitted in the Cape Verde Islands. Upon docking at the customs house, the vessel’s traders declared their cargo to Portuguese customs officers. All cargo and human captives were appraised by the head customs officer of Ribeira Grande, Alvaro Alvares. He placed a price on cargo and human beings. Merchants, officers, crew, colonists and agents who sailed aboard the *Santiago* declared 149 captive Africans to the Portuguese customs officers. The wife of Dom Joham de Noli imported one of these African captives. An un-named agent aboard this ship brought the un-named African captive to her. A customs officer appraised the one captive African as worth 4,000 reis. The nobleman’s wife paid the 25 percent import duty totaling 1,000 reis to the Portuguese customs officer. She also paid 150 reis to the Catholic Church, for the 5 percent import tax.¹⁴¹

The wife of Dom Joham de Noli could legally transship captive Africans from the Cape Verde Islands to Europe, the Azores, Madeira, and Canary Islands, or even Spanish Americas, if she paid the 10 percent re-export taxes. When added together, the 25 percent government tax, plus 5 percent Catholic church tax, and 10 percent

¹⁴⁰ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 528.

¹⁴¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757, fol. 83v. For a human being appraised at 4,000 reis, the slave trader owed the Portuguese government 25 percent or 1,000 reis. The Catholic Church collected 5 percent of 3,000 reis or 150 reis, and not 5 percent of the total price of the enslaved African.

re-export tax, all add up to 40 percent in taxes on each enslaved African. Such high taxes resulted in increased smuggling. Ships simply sailed around the tax collectors in the Cape Verde Islands. Official government data on the number of West Africans shipped to the Cape Verde Islands as slaves are not accurate, because they do not count smuggling. The surviving data are the tip of the iceberg of human trafficking from West Africa, through the Cape Verde Islands, to Europe and its Atlantic colonies.

Like Cape Verde tax ledgers, records about the de Noli family are incomplete, especially the names of parents and grandparents of second-generation de Noli nobles who lived in the Cape Verde colony during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Normally genealogical records of an early sixteenth-century noble, like Dona Genebra de Noli in the Cape Verde Islands read like this: nobleman Dom Joham de Noli, knight in the Order of Santiago and town councilman of Ribeira Grande, married the Portuguese noblewoman, Dona Maria de Fonseca. The couple had a daughter named Dona Genebra de Noli, who married nobleman Dom Goncalo de Siqueira.¹⁴² There are no such data for the parents of Dom Joham de Noli. The questions remain: how did Dom Joham de Noli become a knight and a Portuguese nobleman while keeping his de Noli surname, and who are his parents?

The only known way for Dom Joham de Noli to become a knight in the Order of Santiago, marry a Portuguese noblewoman, and become a rich Portuguese nobleman while keeping his Italian surname was for the king of Portugal to make him a knight and ennoble him. Maybe, his parents were unknown nobles. The king of Portugal also had the power to destroy data about a person's parents. Kings usually made commoners into nobles as reward for extraordinary service. But what service did Dom Joham de Noli perform for King Joao II and Portugal to have warranted such noble title and a knighthood? That question is another de Noli family mystery.

Early-sixteenth-century Cape Verde records identify a second Antonio de Noli, but this was not the discoverer and the first Cape Verde governor. The second Antonio de Noli was a ship captain who transported human captives from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands, just like Governor Antonio de Noli. The younger Antonio de Noli was a member of the second generation of Cape Verde colonists. He also sat on the Ribeira Grande Town Council. In 1514 the younger Antonio de Noli captained the ship *Santa Margarida* which was outfitted in the Cape Verde Islands, and sailed the vessel to West Africa to trade somewhere between the Cape Verde peninsula and Liberia. On 3 May 1514 the ship returned to the Cape Verde Islands, and sailed into customs house at Ribeira Grande, and declared twenty-three enslaved West Africans.¹⁴³

Only two years before he sailed to West Africa, the younger Antonio de Noli signed a letter the Ribeira Grande Town Council wrote, in 1512, to the king of Portugal, Manuel I. A second member of the de Noli family, knight, nobleman and town councilman Dom Joham de Noli also signed the letter to the king. The town

¹⁴² Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, "Titulo de Noli," Pombalina, 390, fols. 93v-94. See also Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Pombalina 399, fol.76v.

¹⁴³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, Livro 757, fols. 53-54v.

council's letter provides the two oldest signatures of de Noli family members—Dom Joham de Noli and the younger Antonio de Noli.¹⁴⁴ (Appendix signatures). These two signatures help to identify other genuine de Noli signatures in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The second Antonio de Noli was not a nobleman, only a commoner. He was probably not the brother of the nobleman and knight Dom Joham de Noli because he was not a nobleman. Yet, the second Antonio de Noli was related to the original de Noli clan, and to second-generation de Noli nobles, including governess Dona Branca de Aguiar and Dom Joham de Noli. The archival records do not say how de Noli family members were related to each other.

Mysterious activities in Portugal and its tropical Atlantic islands during the 1480s and 1490s point invariably to one man--the master-spy and king of Portugal, Joao II (1481-1495). During the decade before he became king (1471-1481) Prince Joao had owned the Cape Verde Islands. According to Christopher Columbus the Portuguese king knew more about the Atlantic and navigation than anyone.¹⁴⁵ The Portuguese king inherited the wisdom of Prince Henry the Navigator, and he built upon it. King Joao II discovered the maritime route from the equator to India. Just two years after he died, Vasco da Gama sailed to India (1497-1499). Moreover, the routes da Gama sailed from Portugal to India, and back to Portugal were discovered by the hard work of King Joao II.

What exactly was the relationship between King Joao II, the Cape Verde Islands, and Governor de Noli? It is possible de Noli worked for King Joao II mapping shipping lanes from the Cape Verde Islands to South Africa and back to prepare Vasco da Gama for his expedition to India.

Paleography Gone Amock: Erasing Andre de Noli and Creating Andre Donelha

Sometimes scholars and archivists make errors, and no conspiracy is involved when they draw the wrong conclusions. This probably occurred when the family de Noli almost disappeared from written Cape Verde historical records, just because scholars overlooked an important diary written by a de Noli family member, Andre de Noli. The diary brought the de Noli family back into Cape Verde maritime history. Andre de Noli lived in the Cape Verde Islands from the midsixteenth century through the first generation of the seventeenth. In 1625 he edited and signed his autobiography — a diary of his life and maritime travels in West Africa and the Cape Verde Islands. The author gave the autographed diary to the Cape Verde governor as a present. Today, the diary is preserved in Biblioteca da Ajuda,

¹⁴⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo, Corpo Cronologico 1-12-23, year 1512. See appendix for signatures of members of the Ribeira Grand Town Council.

¹⁴⁵ Letter from Columbus to King Ferdinand of Spain, dated May 1505, in Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, Coleccion de los viages y descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los espanoles desde fins de siglos xv (Madrid: Imprenta Real), 1825-1829.

just outside Lisbon, and has been translated from Portuguese into English and French.¹⁴⁶

Although the author signed his diary in 1625, someone mis-transcribed his name as Andre Donelha, instead of Andre de Noli (de nolle). Most historians accepted the mistranslated surname Donelha, and never identified the author as a de Noli ship captain. Further complicating the story is the possibility that the signature in the diary was not that of the author of the diary. The manuscript is written in two different handwritings. It is possible the signature is that of the person who copied the first half of the original diary.¹⁴⁷ The signature and the diary were written in the same handwriting, which is unusual because people did not sign their names the same way they wrote long texts. The normal literate Portuguese man of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries had a signature on the flamboyant side (Signatures 1512, Town Council). This suggests the first half of the diary, with the signature, may be the copied section of the diary.

I visited Biblioteca da Ajuda, in the hills just outside Lisbon, and read the original 1625 diary. It is well preserved and somewhat difficult to read. I discovered that the problem was in the index of the manuscript, where someone spelled the surname of the author as one word, Donelha. Most scholars, who consulted the original diary cite the erroneous spelling in the index—instead of transcribing the author's signature for themselves. I transcribed the signature in the front of the diary, as Andre de nolla, not Andre Donelha. The index for the 1625 diary became necessary when the Portuguese bounded the de Noli diary into a compendium with thirty-eight other manuscripts from that epoch in history.

Early Modern Portuguese manuscripts are difficult enough to read—especially transcribing the signatures of gregarious individuals (appendix, Ribeira Grande Town Council, 1512). In order to read and accurately transcribe fifteenth-sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Portuguese manuscripts into written legible script, one must learn modern Portuguese and then Portuguese paleography — the science of interpreting old written Portuguese manuscripts. Then, the person must follow the rules of Portuguese paleography when transcribing old written Portuguese manuscripts into script.¹⁴⁸ It is a tedious process, but a logical undertaking.

The first rule when transcribing Portuguese manuscripts into print is to remain true to the original manuscript. Do not change anything written or not written in the extant document. Never capitalize words that are not capitalized in the original manuscript. Never combine words that are separated in the manuscript. When something is not clear do not guess, but draw a line to signify each illegible letter. Number every line. Get help from specialists in paleography employed in

¹⁴⁶ Andre Donelha (sic Andre de Noli), Descricao Da Serra Leoa E Dos Rios De Guine Do Cabo Verde (1625) and An Account Of Sierra Leone And The Rivers of Cape Verde, 1625, ed., A. Teixeira Da Mota and P.E. H. Hair (Lisboa: Centro De Estudos Da Cartografia Antiga, 1977).

¹⁴⁷ The diary is written “in the same hand up to the end of chapter 6, and then a different hand from the beginning of chapter 7.” Ibid., 27.

¹⁴⁸ Joao Jose Alves Dias, A.H.de Oliveira Marques and Teresa F. Rodrigues, Album de Paleografia (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1987), See also P. Avelino De Jesus Da Costa, Album De Paleografia E Diplomaticas Portuguesas (Coimbra: Faculdade de Letras Fa Universidade De Coimbra, 1983).

Portuguese archives, and seek out professors of Portuguese paleography. Furthermore, pay close attention to lines drawn between letters: sometimes lines change a word. Be careful when transcribing foreign names. Failure to follow the rules of paleography will lead to confusion and misidentification of individuals. Even when all the rules are followed, scholars will have minor differences when transcribing the same Portuguese manuscript. Finally, scholars may spell out abbreviations and add punctuation when editing a manuscript; however, the readers must be informed of editorial notes.

The misidentification of de Noli family members dates back to the years of Prince Henry the Navigator - even before Antonio de Noli first sighted the Cape Verde Islands. During the 1450s, another Genoese mariner named Antoniotto Usodimare sailed from northern Italy to Portugal, and then navigated to West Africa. In 1455 Usodimare wrote a letter from West Africa to his creditors in Europe, informing them of his failure to generate a profit.¹⁴⁹ Then, five years later, around 1460 Antonio de Noli arrived in Portugal from northern Italy, and also sailed to West Africa, and back to Portugal. It did not take long for people in Portugal and beyond to confuse the two Italian mariners.¹⁵⁰

Another reason for confusion about de Noli family members may be attributed to the way the Portuguese-speaking branch of the family spelled their surname, *de nolle*. They used no capital letters, and spelled it as two different words, *de + nolle*. In Portuguese, surnames are always capitalized. Thus, people in Portugal did not know what half of the surname to capitalize; is it the *d* of *de*, or the *n* of *nolle*? This Italian spelling of *de nolle* creates additional problems in the Portuguese language where there are few words with *ll*. Thus, in Portuguese, *de Noli* family members really wrote their surname as-- *de nolhe*, by simply drawing a line through the *ll*, to produce the *lh* sound in spoken Portuguese. In Portuguese the *de Noli* name is spelled *de nolhe* — but it is signed *de nolle* — with a vertical line between the *ll*. That invites confusion.

Further complicating the *de Noli* surname is that different European languages spell *de Noli* different ways. Each romance language also has various spellings for *de Noli*. Scholars who research and publish articles and books on the *de Noli* family add to the confusion because they spell *de Noli* many different ways, in the same academic publication. The Portuguese scholar Armando Cortesao spelled *de Noli* three ways — *de Noli*, *de Nole* and *da Noli*.¹⁵¹ Father Antonio Brasio spelled the Italian surname two ways — *de Noli* and *de Nolle*. He also stated that the name is also spelled *da Noli*, *de Nola*, and *da Nola*.¹⁵² In his English article about the

¹⁴⁹ “Carta de Antoniotto Usodimare, 12 December, 1455,” in Jose Manuel Garcia, *Viagens Dos Descobrimentos* (Lisboa: Editorial Presence, 1983), 139-144.

¹⁵⁰ Earle and Lowe, *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe*, 216.

¹⁵¹ Armando Cortesao, “As Ilhas de Cabo Verde,” *Descobrimentos Ao Atlantico E Evolucao Da Sua Antiga Representao Cartografica* (Lisboa).

¹⁵² Antonio Brasio, “Descobrimento Povamento Evangelizacao de Cabo Verde,” (Lisboa).

discovery of the Cape Verde Islands, Henry Yule Oldam spelled de Noli two ways — de Nolle and de Noli.¹⁵³

In the 1625 diary, the signature in the index of the manuscript is spelled Donelha—an interesting rendition of the surname de Noli. The person who wrote the diary's index committed multiple errors in Portuguese paleography. First, he combined two different words, *de* + *nolle*. This created a new seven letter surname, denolle. The new surname began with the letter *d* for *de*, instead of the surname that begins with the letter *n* for Noli. Then he capitalized the *d* of denolle, because surnames are capitalized in Portuguese. Thus he created a new surname beginning with capital *D*, spelled Denolha. He also changed the second *ll* to *h*, because a line ran through the *ll*.

One look at authentic de Noli signatures shows no one capitalized any letter in, de nolle. The transcriber of the 1625 signature of the diary did not realize that the Portuguese word *de*, is a preposition, meaning from, of, for — it is not the first two letters of a surname. When added together, these changes transformed the surname written as Andre de nolla into Andre Donelha. It is possible that the person who copied the signature and first section of the diary substituted the last letter of the surname with an *a* instead of an *e* for nolle.

Discovery of the real Andre de Noli solves a twentieth-century mystery faced by the publishers of the 1625 diary. In the 1970s the Portuguese publisher of the diary, A. Teixeira Da Mota searched Cape Verde cemeteries looking for the author's surname, Donelha. Of course none was found. He should have been looking for headstones with the names da Nolle, de Noli, de Nole or something close to de nolle. A new search of Cape Verde cemeteries is in order.

Evidence in the 1625 Diary that Andre de Noli was Really a Man From de Noli

The author of the diary was well versed in early Cape Verde history. Andre de Noli said his father and some old Fulas told him about early Cape Verde history dating back to the times when Antonio de Noli discovered the islands. The diary claims that the islands were discovered the same year Prince Henry the Navigator died in 1460 — and this is correct.¹⁵⁴ This is an amazing chronological tie-in between two major events in 1460. How would the author of this 1625 diary had known this exact date for Cape Verde's discovery which occurred 165 years earlier? Andre de Noli also fits the profile of many de Noli men before him. He was a rich, educated ship captain who lived in the Cape Verde Islands, and sailed his own ship to and from nearby West Africa.

The strongest evidence that the 1625 diary writer was a de Noli man comes from the signatures. There is one in the diary, and another at a Cape Verde wedding in 1634. Both Andre de Noli signatures matched each other, the one in the diary and

¹⁵³ Henry Yule Oldham, "The Discovery of the Cape Verde Islands," *Fr. Richthofen Festschrift*, mimeograph, 1895.

¹⁵⁴ Andre Donelha (sic de Noli), *An Account of Sierra Leone and the Rivers of Guinea of Cape Verde, 1625*, ed., A. Teixeira Da Mota and P.E.H. Hair (Lisboa: Junta De Investigacoes Cientificas Do Ultramar, 1977), 156-159.

the one at the wedding on Fogo Island, just nine years later. The two Andre de Noli signatures also match three other de Noli signatures from the early sixteenth century. These consist of two signatures of Dom Joham de Noli (1512 and 1515) and one signature from the second Antonio de Noli in 1512 (Appendix of de Noli signatures). All five signatures from three different de Noli men match. All these men spelled and signed their surnames the same way: de nolle, in all common letters, with a line running through the *ll*. All the de Noli signatures are written inside a rectangular box drawn by the signatories. Dom Johan de Noli, the younger Antonio de Noli and Andre de Noli are all members of the de Noli family in the Cape Verde Islands.

In his 1625 diary, Andre de Noli identified the first Antonio de Noli as discoverer of the Cape Verde Islands in 1460, and spelled his surname correctly, de nolle. The author of the diary gave his literary work to the governor of the Cape Verde Islands in 1625, which suggests he had a link to the Cape Verde governorship. He also worked for the government of the Cape Verde Islands, like other de Noli men before him. Andre de Noli proved that the de Noli family had not disappeared from late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth-century Cape Verde Islands.

During the last generation of the twentieth century the late Portuguese scholar Padre Antonio Brasio discovered the 1634 document Andre de Noli signed at a Cape Verdean wedding. He concluded it was signed by the author of the 1625 diary. The priest said the document of 1634 came from a wedding in the Cape Verde Island of Fogo.¹⁵⁵ Members of the de Noli family lived on Fogo. However, other Portuguese scholars, including the editors of the de Noli diary in the 1970s, doubted the priest's finding. A comparison of all the known de Noli signatures indicates Father Brasio was probably correct.

In his article about the 1634 wedding attended by Andre de Noli, Father Brasio spelled the surname of the author of the diary as Donelha. The scribe at the wedding, Agostino Pousadas, printed the name clearly, Andre de nolle. Then Andre de Noli signed his name at the bottom of the document. Like other authentic de Noli family members, Andre de Noli signed his surname in all common letters, and then he drew a line between the *ll* of de nolle. He also drew a rectangular box surrounding his signature—just like other de Noli men. Once again, a comparison of all de Noli signatures starting with the two 1512 Ribeira Grande town councilmen, then the 1625 diary, and finally the 1634 signature at the wedding shows all were genuine de nolle family members. This confirms that the same Andre de Noli signed the 1625 diary, and the document at the Fogo wedding—just as Father Brasio had concluded.

Since Andre Donelha was really Andre de Noli, then his diary provides a wealth of new information about early de Noli family life in the Cape Verde Islands and West Africa. For example, the un-named father of Andre de Noli sailed from the Cape Verde Islands to West Africa and secured three Manes prisoners of war from a battlefield in Sierra Leone in the mid-sixteenth century.¹⁵⁶ Was this common behavior

¹⁵⁵ Father Antonio Brasio, "O Memorial de Andre Donelha" *Stvdia* 39 (December 1974), 305-306.

¹⁵⁶ Andre Donelha (sic de Noli), *An Account of Sierra Leone*, eds., Da Mota and Hair, 106-109.

for Cape Verde colonists at that time? Is it evidence of the large-scale invasion of Mane armies that ravaged Sierra Leone during the midsixteenth century?

German Nobility in the de Noli Family, and Author, Paulino da Nolla de Andrade

While conducting research on the de Noli family at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, a manuscript on the de Noli family said, “see de Sequeira family”. They were an important Portuguese noble family living in Portugal, Madeira, and the Cape Verde Islands. Then when I visited the Biblioteca da Ajuda, outside of Lisbon, I saw an undated Portuguese manuscript that appears to be written in seventeenth-century script. It spelled the de Noli surname, la Noli. The document is a one-page manuscript (Appendix of de Sequeira family). It lists a de Noli noblewoman in the Cape Verde Islands, but called her Dona genebra la noli, who was daughter of Dom Jeromino la noli Alemam, a German nobleman. Dona genebra la noli was very rich, and she married nobleman Dom Goncalo de Sequira in Cape Verde Islands.¹⁵⁷ Don Jeromino la Noli Alemam probably married into the Noli family. In Portuguese the word *Alemam* means German, but it may signify a foreigner’s place of origin — just like Noli. European women outlived European men in early the Cape Verdes, and some women had many husbands, especially rich widows. It may also be that wealthy women left more written records than poor women.

The spelling la Noli may have been the work of a Spanish archivist who worked in Biblioteca da Ajuda when Spain governed Portugal from 1580 to 1640. The library is housed in a royal palace and was part of the king’s official archive. A Spanish influence may explain spelling de Noli as the surname la noli. This manuscript is found in the records about the noble Portuguese family, de Sequeira. It shows a marriage between de Noli and de Sequeira in the Cape Verde Islands. When Spain governed Portugal from 1580 to 1640, Spaniards may have been employed in Portuguese ministries and spelled words in a Spanish way. Many Portuguese manuscripts went to Spain during the Spanish rule.

A final de Noli family member appeared in the Portuguese archival documents in 1703 when Paulino da Nolla de Andrade authored the book *Letivo Cuidados algumas de Varios Autors*. The early-eighteenth-century book is housed in Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, in Lisbon.¹⁵⁸ A Xerox copy of the first page of the book may be found in the Appendix. The spelling da Nolla is written in capital letters. More research is required on the later de Noli family members of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

It is interesting that back in 1634, Andre de Noli attended a wedding in Fogo Island where the bride was the daughter of Isabel de Andrade and Marcos Machado.¹⁵⁹ Paulino da Nolla de Andrade may be related to the Isabel de Andrade in the Fogo wedding party, which included Andre de Noli. Paulino has the double surnames of de Noli and de Andrade, showing he was a de Noli man. Researchers

¹⁵⁷ Biblioteca da Ajuda, 49-xiii-32, T.60, fol.140v.

¹⁵⁸ Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, cod. 2524.

¹⁵⁹ Brasio, “O Memorial de Andre Donelha,” 305-306.

must work diligently to find de Noli names when they appear in various spellings. These later de Noli(s) are commoners in the Cape Verde Islands, and less is written about commoners than about their noble predecessors.

Finally there are research opportunities for students to expand the history of the de Noli family. Many manuscripts about Portuguese noble families are stored in the archives in Portugal, and most have not been reviewed for data on the de Noli family. Some families have references to the de Noli family, often with unconventional spellings. Both graduate and undergraduate students could research the de Noli family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Studies of post-eighteenth-century records call for no knowledge of Portuguese paleography, but knowledge of modern Portuguese is necessary. Contemporary scholars are armed also with a new weapon, DNA.

Conclusion

In 1453 Muslims conquered Constantinople and drove Christians from colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean. This may have influenced Antonio de Noli and his family to sail from the Mediterranean into the Atlantic. Accompanied by younger brother Bartholomeu and nephew Raphael de Noli, the three formed a small fleet that sailed through the Strait of Gibraltar to Spain and then to Portugal. Antonio de Noli and his family navigated to Sagres, Portugal, where they met Prince Henry the Navigator. The navigator prince employed Antonio de Noli to deliver horses to Portugal's non-Muslim allies in modern-day Senegal. Prince Henry had formed an alliance with anti-Muslim Serers who fought their Muslim neighbors. The Portuguese assisted the Serers who fought and captured Muslim prisoners of war whom Prince Henry's men, like Antonio de Noli, bartered for Portuguese horses.

After bartering horses for prisoners of war in West Africa, Antonio de Noli sailed toward Portugal and discovered the Cape Verde Islands, off the coast of Senegal. In 1462 Antonio de Noli sailed from Portugal and colonized the uninhabited islands. The colony was very poor during its first four years, and then in 1466 King Afonso V of Portugal issued a founding charter giving colonists a monopoly to trade with nearby West Africa, and granting merchants tax breaks on commerce with Europe and West Africa. Within a few years Cape Verde colonists became very rich, especially after 1471, when Governor de Noli sailed illegally to trade along the Gold Coast, in modern-day Ghana. The Cape Verde governor and his family sailed illegally to the Gold Coast and bartered textiles, sugar, liquor, horses, salt, glass and maybe weapons for gold. Governor de Noli and his ship-owning family may have traded on the Gold Coast many times from 1472 to 1476, and amassed a lot of gold.

One de Noli was a violent, ruthless killer. In 1466, Bartholomeu de Noli who was acting-governor of the Cape Verde Islands ordered the killing of Father Rodrigo, an old Catholic priest living in Ribeira Grande, Santiago Island. The murder shows Cape Verde colony was a lawless place during the first generations — even for priests. At first, Portugal exiled criminals to the Cape Verde Islands, and later shipped convicts to Sao Tome and Brazil. In the fifteenth century Atlantic islands near West Africa attracted convicts, exiles, adventurers, and violent men from all

over Europe. Portugal did not send any police or warships, in peace time, to patrol the early Cape Verde colony. That invited lawlessness. A few troops and some ships would have changed the situation because the first Cape Verde settlement was tiny.

Like the Portuguese in early the Cape Verde colony, the de Noli family wrote very little. Yet written records exist, and some manuscripts about the early de Noli family are preserved in Portuguese archives and libraries. When viewed in the wider history of Portugal, the archival documents suggest the de Noli family had a very powerful patron at the highest levels of Portuguese government during the later fifteenth century. Governor Antonio de Noli began by working for Prince Henry the Navigator, and then governed the Cape Verde Islands for the king's brother — he was no ordinary sailor. However, in 1477 the governor betrayed Portugal to win freedom from Spanish prison and then vanished. This behavior should have destroyed any chances that the de Noli family would become elite Portuguese nobles.

But that is what took place. After Governor de Noli betrayed Portugal and vanished, the members of the de Noli family prospered and became rich powerful Portuguese nobles in the Cape Verde Islands. The high noble status of the de Noli family makes no sense, especially after Governor Antonio de Noli betrayed Portugal and vanished from Spain. It took very powerful allies in Portugal to promote de Noli men and women to the status of governors, Portuguese nobles, and knights in the religious Order of Santiago. How and why was it done? Is there some hidden secret between the de Noli family and the Portuguese royal family? These are five-hundred-year old mysteries of the de Noli family.

A few Portuguese archival records suggest the Portuguese King Joao II (1481-1495) may have rewarded the family of Antonio de Noli for something — but what? In fifteenth-century genealogical records, Portuguese noblemen and noblewomen were identified in writing as children of noble parents. However, this is not the case with the de Noli family, who became Portuguese nobles during the late fifteenth century. There are no parents listed for Dom Joham de Noli, and Dona Branca de Aguiar's mother is not identified. Even the second Antonio de Noli, a councilman of the Ribeira Grande Town Council in 1512, never had his father or mother identified in the genealogical records. No parents were identified by Andre de Noli in his long 1625 diary. The king of Portugal was the only person with the power to make commoners into nobles.

The de Noli family participated in the Atlantic slave trade from West Africa to the Cape Verde Islands. When Governor Antonio de Noli colonized the Cape Verde Islands in 1462, he transformed human trafficking from West Africa by establishing a base with European colonists living close to West Africa. The European colonists sailed to nearby West Africa and transported Africans to the islands—as slaves. Then, merchants from Europe sailed to the Cape Verdes and purchased the enslaved Africans. Cape Verde colonists did the dirty work of capturing West Africans and transporting them to Cape Verde Islands. Europeans could then secure enslaved Africans in the Cape Verde Islands without ever setting foot in West Africa. Governor Antonio de Noli organized and operated Stage 2 of the Atlantic

slave trade, where Cape Verde Islanders monopolized the maritime trade with West Africa.

By the sixteenth century, the Cape Verde colony operated a vast human trafficking network from West Africa into the European Atlantic system. Thousands of Cape Verde colonists sailed to West Africa and returned with tens of thousands of enslaved Africans. According to the oldest surviving Cape Verde customs records dating 1513-1516, three dozen ships outfitted in Cape Verde harbors sailed to West Africa with over 900 Cape Verde colonists, who returned to the colony to pay taxes on nearly 3,000 enslaved Africans. Customs officers also collected export duty on ca.600 enslaved Africans shipped to Portugal, Spain, Madeira and the Spanish Canaries.¹⁶⁰ The ships also paid taxes on West African food, ivory, live exotic animals, ivory carved salt cellars, hides, and beeswax.

After the midsixteenth century, Andre de Noli described a transformation in human trafficking from West Africa to the Cape Verde colony. He reported his father had sailed from the Cape Verdes to West African battlefields in order to secure prisoners of war, at the source where they were of little economic value to the victors. When the vanquished were exiled to the Portuguese, then the victor occupied new territory without a conquered population. Andre de Noli also described hundreds of Europeans living in West Africa, where they monopolized trade with ships from the Cape Verde Islands, and other European kingdoms. He complained about renegade Cape Verde colonists who joined the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English merchant ships trading for human beings in West Africa. The ships secured human cargoes and sailed around the Cape Verde Islands directly to the Americas. This was Stage 3 and is called the trans-Atlantic slave trade by European and American scholars. It was at this time that the Cape Verde Islands lost its monopoly over maritime trade with West Africa. The islands were no longer strategic, and big ships sailed from the Americas directly to West Africa and back, without stopping in the Cape Verde Islands. Navigational technology had improved over time, along with better cartography and more experienced pilots.

Governor Antonio de Noli and other Europeans transformed the Cape Verde Islands into the first maritime base to supply enslaved Africans to Europe and its colonies. Cape Verde colonists secured West Africans and sold them as slaves to merchants from Portugal, Spain and their Old World colonies in the Azores, Madeira, and the Spanish Canaries. Shipowners also supplied the Cape Verde Islands with thousands of captive Africans for its farms, plantations, and homes. Before Antonio de Noli colonized the Cape Verdes, European ships sailed directly from Portugal to West Africa and secured captive Africans, then sailed straight back to Portugal. That was Stage 1, and it was an inefficient system.

Difficulty in reading Portuguese archival records resulted in little primary research on the early history of the de Noli family in the Cape Verde Islands. Multiple errors in Portuguese paleography led to misidentification of Andre de Noli as Andre Donelha, and shows why it is best to consult the original manuscripts when reconstructing history of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

¹⁶⁰ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Nucleo Antigo, livro 757, Cape Verde customs receipt book, 1513-1516.

For centuries after 1625, scholars misidentified Andre de Noli as Andre Donelha. Now that his true identity is known, his 1625 diary becomes the most detailed account of early de Noli family history in the Cape Verdes and West Africa.

The problem was simple: the Italian name, de Noli, underwent numerous spelling changes in Portuguese and other romance languages. One way around that problem is to look at archival records with authentic signatures of de Noli family members and ignore the spellings in published books and articles. The first signatures date to 1512 when Dom Joham de Noli and the second Antonio de Noli signed a letter to the king of Portugal. Andre de Noli signed two other documents, one in his diary in 1625, and the other at a wedding in Fogo Island in 1634. Surviving signatures of de Noli members from 1512 to 1634 allow a comparison to be made of family signatures for over a century and help to identify authentic de Noli men. This worked because family members signed their surnames in similar and distinctive form, generation after generation.

Finally today, some Cape Verde citizens carry the de Noli genes, and do not even know it. DNA analysis will assist scholars in charting the entire de Noli family tree from Governor Antonio de Noli to the present.

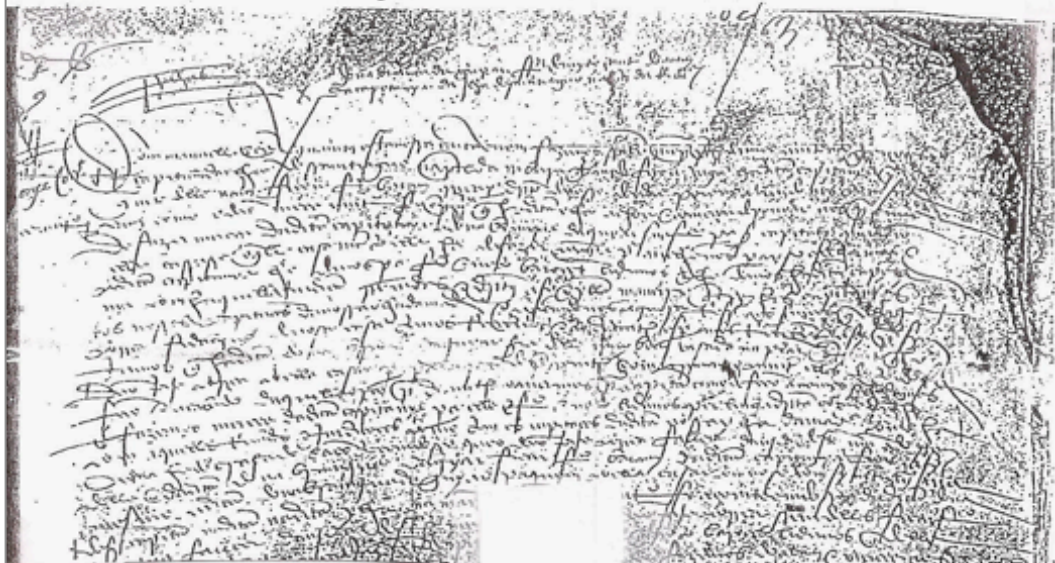
Appendix 1

Original Portuguese royal edict granting the Cape Verde governorship of Governor Antonio de nolle to his daughter Dona Branca de Aguiar (8 April 1497)
Source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancelaria D. Manuel, liv. 30, fol. 62

The royal edict of King Manuel I (1495-1521) of Portugal gave Dona Branca de Aguiar, daughter of Antonio de nolle, his governorship in the Cape Verde Islands, on the condition she married Dom Jorge Correa de Sousa, knight in the king's household. The fifteenth word of the edict *parte* was crossed out and the word *morte* was written above. In this context, the word *parte* means on the part of or on behalf of, while the word *morte* means upon the death of. The original edict was issued on the part of Governor de nolle, translated as, "on behalf of micer antonco the genoese captain of the ribeira grande section of santiago island." However, the word *morte* changed the meaning to "upon the death of micer Antonio captain."

Portuguese scholars who transcribed and published the edict accepted the change in the document, and conclude that Governor de nolle died in 1497, because in that year the king gave his daughter the Cape Verde governorship. Normally, a child received a governorship upon the death of the father. However, this is not the case. Royal amanuenses who copied royal edicts did not cross out words and write words above; instead they copied the entire document until it was perfect. This is because the king's word was law, and his royal edicts had to be perfect.

In 1958 when Padre António Brásio transcribed and published the edict in his Monumenta Missionaria Africana África Ocidental (1342-1499) (Lisboa: Agência Geral Do Ultramar, 1958) 1: 579-580, he footnoted the change from *parte* to *morte*. He claimed the king erroneously said *parte* but later changed it to *morte* which was the accurate meaning. Since Padre Brásio transcribed and published thousands of Portuguese manuscripts from the Early Modern period, scholars accepted his conclusion. In the process they killed Governor de nolle in 1497; thereby, eliminating any possibility that he would be linked to Christopher Columbus who died in 1506.



Appendix 2

Sixteenth century copy of 1497 edict granting Cape Verde governorship to his daughter

Note: Royal edict of King Manuel I of Portugal to Dona Branca de Aguiar, daughter of Governor Antonio de nolle, 8 April 1497. Source of this manuscript, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Leitura Nova, Livro das Ilhas, fol. lxix (69). The Leitura Nova is a new section of the Portuguese national archive. It contains reproductions of manuscripts copied by scribes writing from 1502 to 1552. This was part of the reorganization of the national archive Torre do Tombo. In some cases the Leitura Nova contains the only copy of lost, stolen or misplaced manuscripts.¹

A look at the royal edict to Dona Branca de Aguiar reveals that the 15th word parte is underlined by the scribe. This suggests that the original scribe wanted to emphasize the word parte. Maybe, the scribe wrote the document before 1553 when he worked on Leitura Nova. It is also possible the same person who changed the original royal edict of 1497 also underlined this manuscript.

Original Manuscript

Dona branca de guiar filha de
myce anto doacam da capyta
nia da ilha de santiaguo na p
te da Riba

Com mandado de Aquam
esta nossa carta virem fize
mos saber que por parte de mje An
toneo genoea capitam da ilha de
santiago na parte da Riba gran
de ficou vaga ha dita capitania po
quanto delle nem ficou filho baro
quea perdido de nelle derdar. E po
rem avendo nos enformacam co
mo ho dito mje Antonio foy o
primeiro que ha dita ilha achou. E

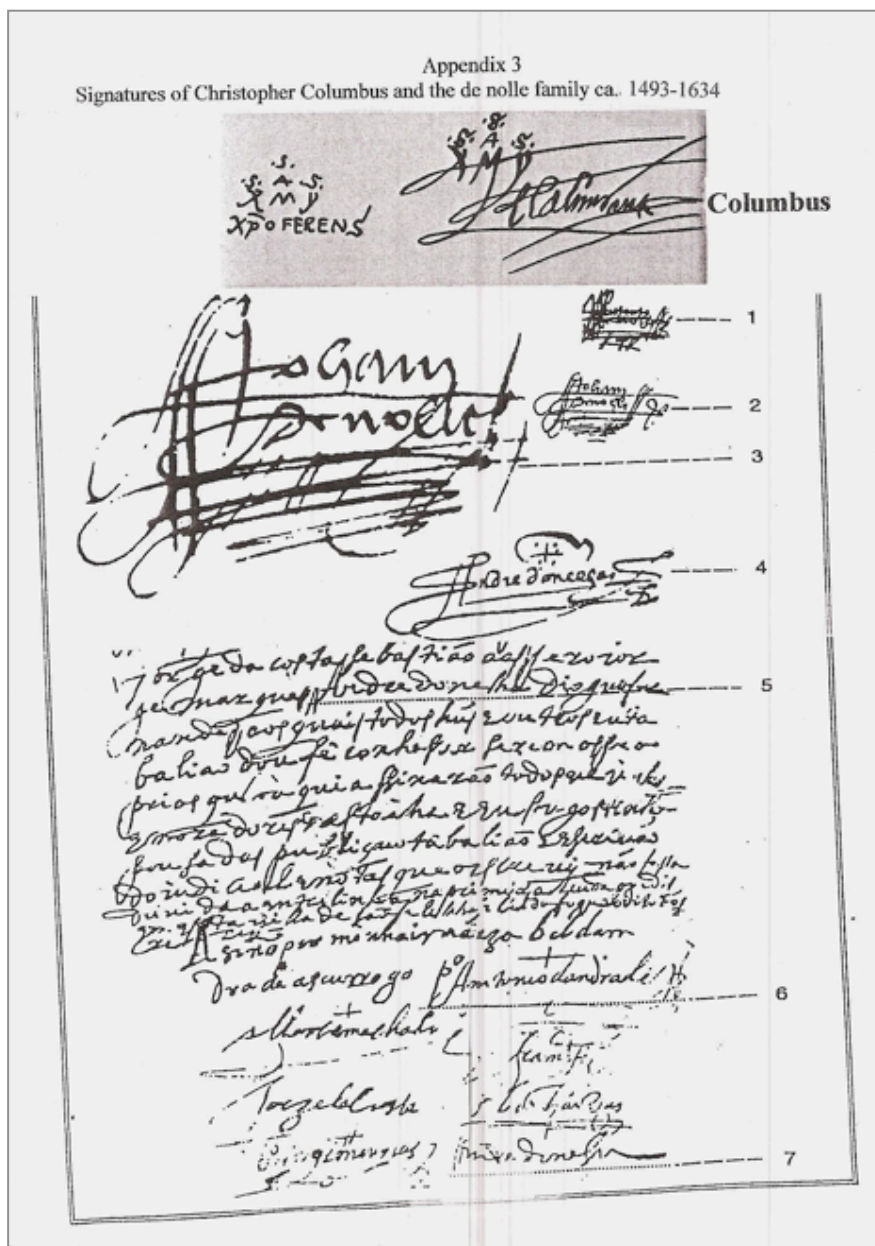
Transcription

1. Dona branca de guiar filha de
2. myce anto doacam da capyta
3. nia da ilha de Santiago na p
4. te da Riba

1. Dom Manuel etc A quantos
2. esta nossa carta virem faze
3. mos saber que por parte de mje An
4. toneo genoea capitam da ilha de
5. Santiago na parte da Ribeira gran
6. de ficou vaga ha dita capitania po'
7. quanto delle nem ficou filho baro
8. que a per derito de nesse derdar po
9. rem avendo nos enformacam co
10. mo ho dito mje Antonio foy o
11. primeiro que ha dita ilha achou

¹Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, Os Descobrimentos E A Economia Mundial (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1983) 4:232.

Appendix 3
Signatures of Christopher Columbus and the de nolle family ca. 1493-1634



Description of signatures in next page

Signatures of Christopher Columbus and members of the de nolle family, ca. 1493-1634

The first signature is of Christopher Columbus where he signed his name with the title "Admiral." The signature is a combination of Byzantine-Greek and Latin. According to Samuel Morison, Christopher Columbus wished his heirs to sign his signature, which is an X [CHI] with an S over it, and an M with an A over it, and over that an S, and then a Greek Y with an S over it, preserving the relations of the lines and points."

Source: <http://www.christopher-columbus.eu.signature.htm>

(1) Antonio de nolle, this is not the discoverer and first Cape Verde governor, but a second generation family member who signed a letter sent to the Portuguese king by the town council of Ribeira Grand, capital of the Cape Verde Islands, on 25 October 1512. See appendix 4, for signatures of the town council. Source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronológico, 1-12-23.

(2) Johan de nolle, signature as a town councilman of Ribeira Grande. Dom Joham de nolle was a nobleman and a knight in the Order of Santiago. Source: Ibid.

(3) Joham de nolle, a second signature found in 1515 when he signed his property tax receipt for his estate located on Santiago Island. Source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Núcleo Antigo, Livro 757, fol.191v.

(4) Andre de nolle was a fourth generation Cape Verde ship captain. The signature is from the first page of a diary he dedicated to Francisco de Vasconcelos da Cunha, governor of the Cape Verde Islands, dated November 1625. Source: Biblioteca da Ajuda, Portugal, 51-ix-25, fol. 149, entitled "Relações do descobrimento da Costa de Guine."

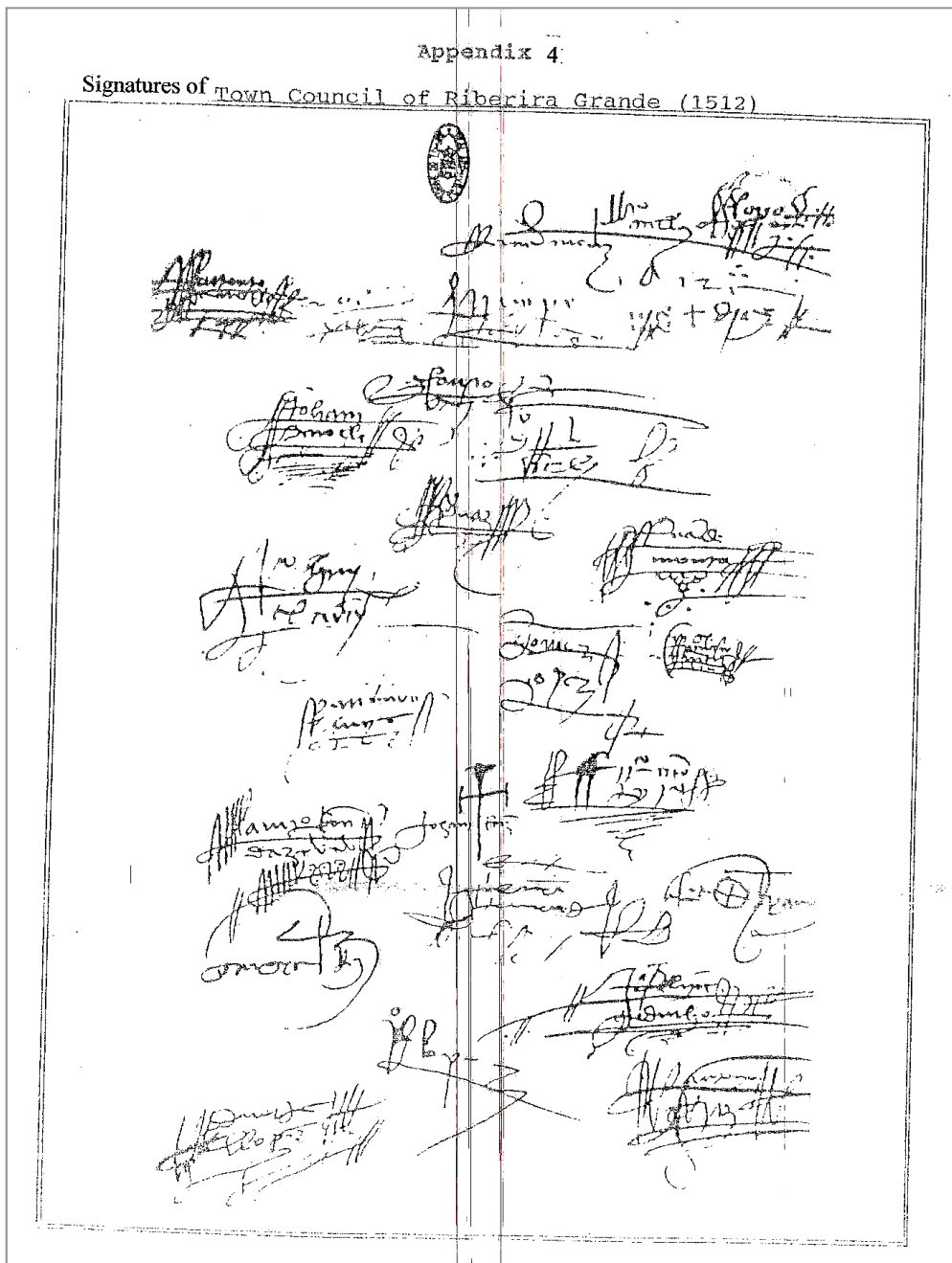
(5) Andre de nolle, his name was written by the scribe Agostinho Pousadas who enumerated the signatories of a dowry at the wedding of Francisco Fernandes and Beatriz Jorge. The wedding took place at São Filipe, Fogo Island. The document is dated 27 March 1634. Source: Padre António Brásio, "O Memorial de Andre Donelha," *Stvdia*, 39 (December 1974), 305-306.

(6) Signature of Po Antonio dandrade who also signed the dowry. Source: Ibid.

(7) Andre de nolle signed his name on the dowry. Although A. Teixeira da Mota and António Brásio transcribed the signature as Andre Donelha, I transcribe it as Andre de nolle. The signature is very similar to those of other de nolle family members, Dom Joham de nolle and Antonio de nolle. Source: Ibid.

Appendix 4

Signatures of Town Council of Ribeira Grande (1512)



Description of signatures in next page

Signatures of Ribeira Grande Town Council, 1512

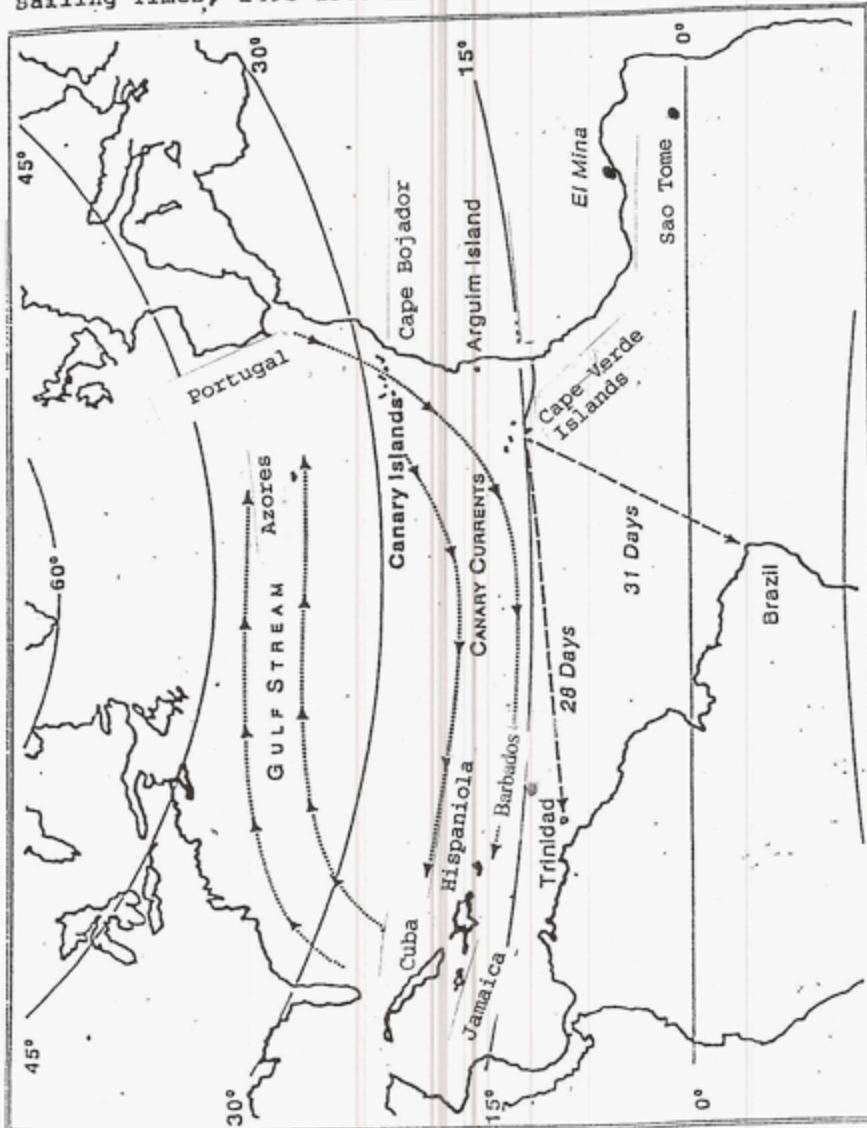
| | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------|--|----------------------------|
| | | Ffern ^{am} nend ^{ez} | vicente diaz |
| Antonio de nolle | | | |
| Joham de nolle | | | |
| | | afonso dias | |
| | | | Ffern ^{ande} mora |
| | Gomes Lopez | ffrancisco martiz | |
| Antonio luis | | ffrancisco monteiro | |
| Antonio rois dazevedo | Joham roiz | | |
| gorge roiz | | filipe godinho | |
| Duarte llopez | | Antonio roiz | |

Source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Corpo Cronológico 1-12-23

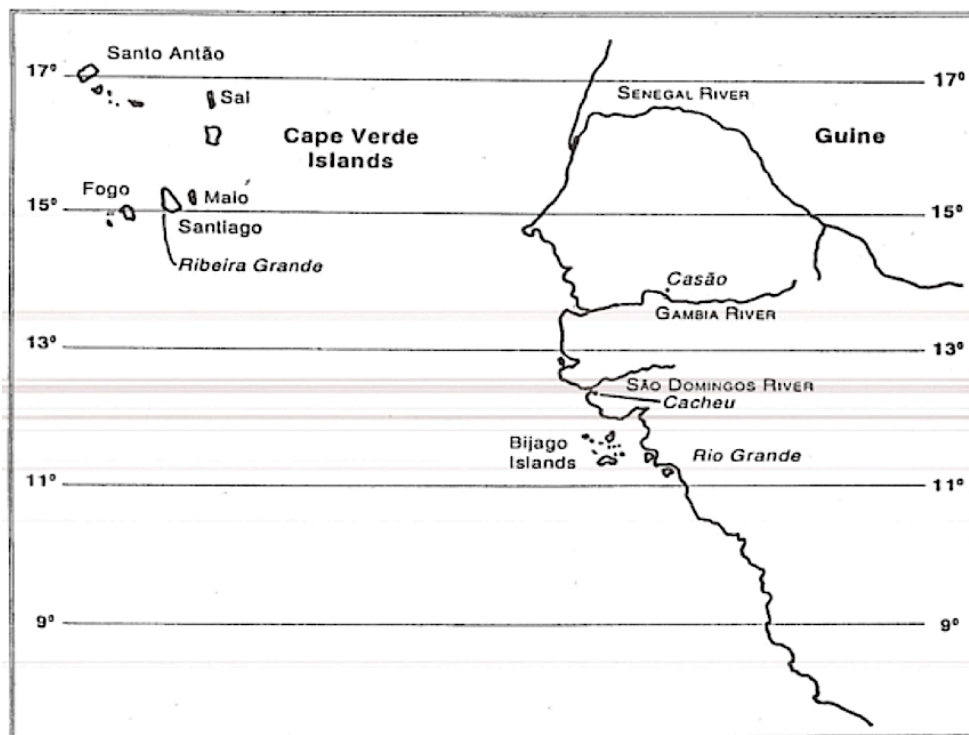
Note: On 25 October 1512, the town council of the Cape Verde capital, Ribeira Grande, wrote a letter to King Manuel I of Portugal. The council protested against a recent royal edict prohibiting them from importing enslaved Africans and selling them to merchants from Portugal, Spain, and Iberian insular colonies in the Azores, the Madeiras, and the Spanish Canaries. The Ribeira Grande politicians reminded the king of the vital services Cape Verde colonists provide to his highness' ships sailing back to Portugal from Brazil, India, Elmina and São Tomé. The town council's letter and signatures were published by Padre Antonio Brásio; however, he did not transcribe the signatures. Transcription of the town council's signatures was done by this author. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, 2d ser., 2: 56-58.

Map 1

Sailing Times, 1498-1500 and Atlantic Winds and Currents

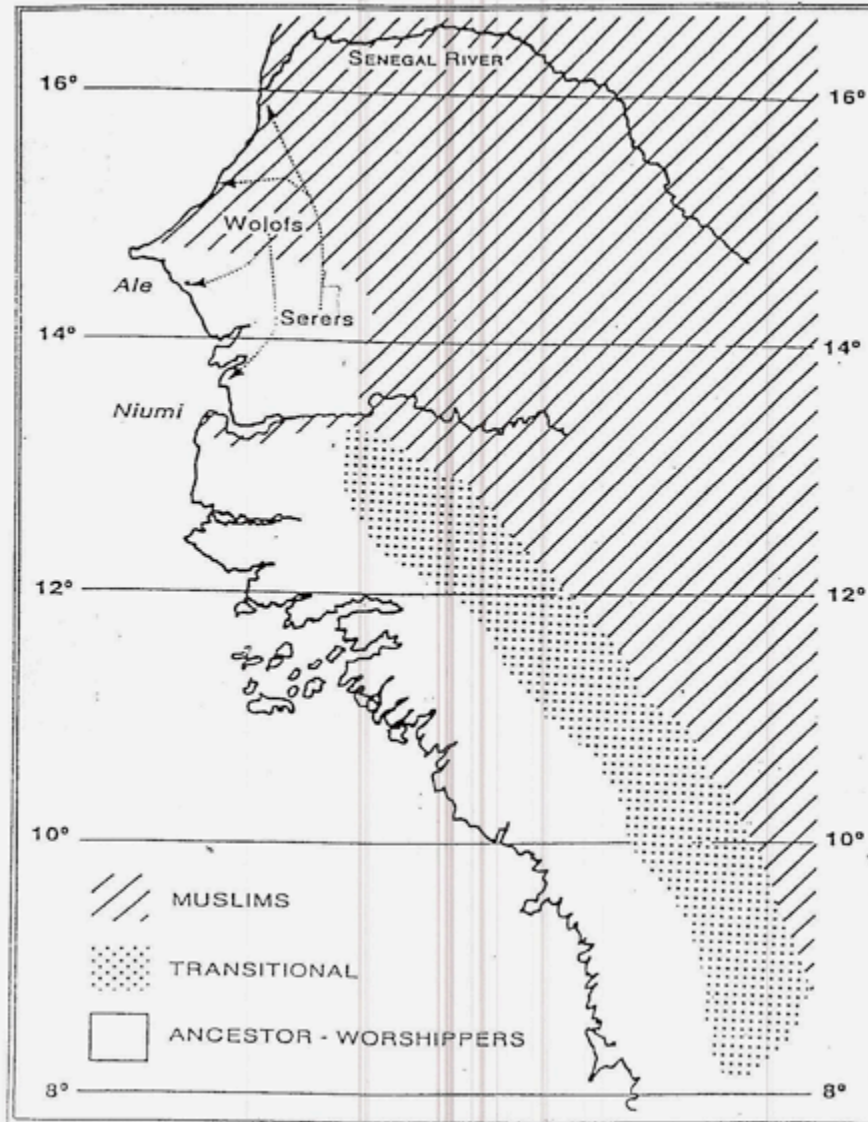


Map 2 The Maritime Quadrant



Map 3

Muslims and Ancestor - Worshippers of Guine



The Greatest Story Never Told. Cabo Verde, The Genesis Of The New World

By Marcel Balla, M.A.

The geographic genesis of the New World begins in the islands of the Atlantic, whereas the spiritual genesis of this world is exemplified by the vision of Prince Henry the Navigator who created the environment for this endeavor in the School of Sagres in 1419 to launch his project to discover the lands and oceans of the world. In the meantime, one of the leading protagonists in this project would be Antonio de Noli from the Ligurian Coast of Italy.

During a time of political turmoil in Italy, Mister Antonio decided to leave the Ligurian Coast and is believed to have set sail from the Port of the Maritime Republic of Noli in the late 1440's with his brother Bartholomew and his nephew Rafaelo in addition to other mariners from the Ligurian Coast. From here he eventually arrived in Portugal where he offered his services to the Crown of Portugal. His request was accepted and he began sailing under the Portuguese flag. Despite the vagueness of historical documents, we do know that he discovered the first five islands of the Archipelago of Cabo Verde in 1460, according to official documents. We also know that he was awarded the southern half of the main island of Santiago as the Captain of Ribeira Grande, while Diogo Afonso was awarded the northern half of the island as the Captain of Alcatraz. These districts were called Capitancias during this period of Portuguese history.

While Diogo Afonso never became a permanent resident of Alcatraz and is believed to have died in 1473, Antonio de Noli became the first resident Cape Verdean on the islands in 1462 with his brother and nephew along with other mariners who sailed with him on three ships from the Ligurian Coast. Other settlers from the Algarve and Minho in Portugal also settled the islands with him. These pioneers built the first European city in the Tropics, while creating a new civilization that would represent the foundation of Western Civilization in the New World. A few years later in 1466, the new settlers began importing slaves from the West Coast of Africa and in a very short period of time we begin to see the beginnings of a new race of people mixed between Europeans and Africans. This phenomenon of course is still ongoing throughout the world today.

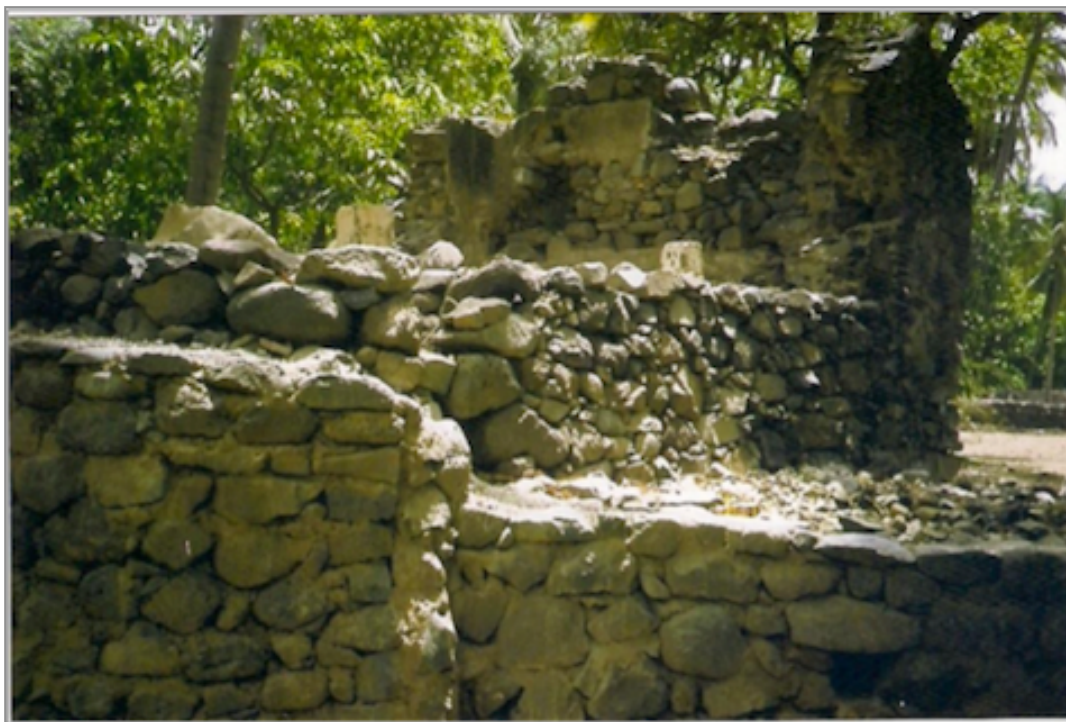


Fig.1 Nossa Senhora da Conceição. Ruins of first church in Ribeira Grande de Santiago, Cabo Verde (photo taken by M. G. Balla ca.2006)

It would be from this city of Ribeira Grande, where we begin to find the infrastructure of a new civilization that would be transferred to the New World after the voyages of Columbus had discovered America. The center piece of this civilization would be the Catholic Church which was first constructed on Santiago Island between 1466 and 1470 (Historia da Igeja). This first church (Our Lady of the Conception) can still be seen in Ribeira Grande although it is of course in ruins today (Fig.1). But there are many other churches that were built at the end of the 15th century and early 16th century that are still standing and used for tourism or meeting places to demonstrate the local heritage of the early settlers of Cabo Verde.

These churches would be used to train missionaries to go to the New World and convert the indigenous peoples to the Catholic faith. Eventually this religious expansion would reach the continents of Africa and Asia.

It must be remembered that the Europeans believed that they had a God given mission to convert people around the world to Christianity and this belief has been documented in many Papal Bulls, especially one in 1455 (Jan-8) by Pope Nicolas V and became famous in the Treaty of Tordesilhas in 1494. These bulls and treaties would authorize the Portuguese and Spanish Kingdoms to invade, conquer and enslave the infidels, while possessing their lands and converting them to the Catholic religion. Today of course, we see the results of this phenomenon around the world wherever we see vestiges of colonialism.

This discussion is not to make a value judgment on the practices of medieval times but rather to explain in an honest format the basic truth of what actually transpired in historical terms. Throughout this discussion we must keep in mind

that it was during the era of Antonio de Noli that this infrastructure was established that would be a key element of this expansion, although long after his demise. There were many other elements of western civilization that would be introduced in Cabo Verde that would be transferred to the New World. One such institution has already been mentioned, that of course is the institution of slavery. This institution would be refined in Cabo Verde in the 15th century and exported later to the Caribbean islands and Brazil and on to the rest of Latin America and North America. This institution of course represents a cornerstone of the building of western civilization in the early phase of development in the New World, but it also retained its value right up until the Civil War in America in 1861 and being maintained in Brazil until the end of the 19th century.

Then of course, there are the sciences of oceanography and astronomy which were developed and refined while using Cabo Verde as a strategic location and point of reference to better understand the position of the stars and to measure the distances between different continents, while learning about the trade winds that were used to facilitate the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean in ships from European ports. For example it was found that it was much easier and safer for early English settlers to travel from England to Virginia and Maryland in the new colonies of America by stopping in Cabo Verde and using the trade winds to cross the Atlantic and going to Barbados before sailing up the North American coast to their destinations in America (Exploring) (Fig.2).Of course, we already know that Columbus had used this same route earlier when he stopped in Cabo Verde on his third voyage to the New World in 1498.

One of the greatest values of the discovery of Cabo Verde, would be its use as a logistics base. This function served to facilitate the navigation of the seas that were generally unknown at the time. It was common for explorers to stop in Cabo Verde seeking assistance and provisions for their long journeys around the world. Often times, this meant that they would stop for much needed ship repairs and there are many stories of ships that most likely never would have survived had it not been for emergency assistance received in Cabo Verde. Perhaps the most famous ship in this category was the "Nau Vitoria". This was the ship in Magellan's fleet that was captained by Sebastian del Cano who stopped for emergency provisions in Cabo Verde in 1522, while sailing with a starving crew of 18 men. Fortunately, they were given emergency supplies and were able to return to Spain and tell the King of Spain that the world was round (Pereira).

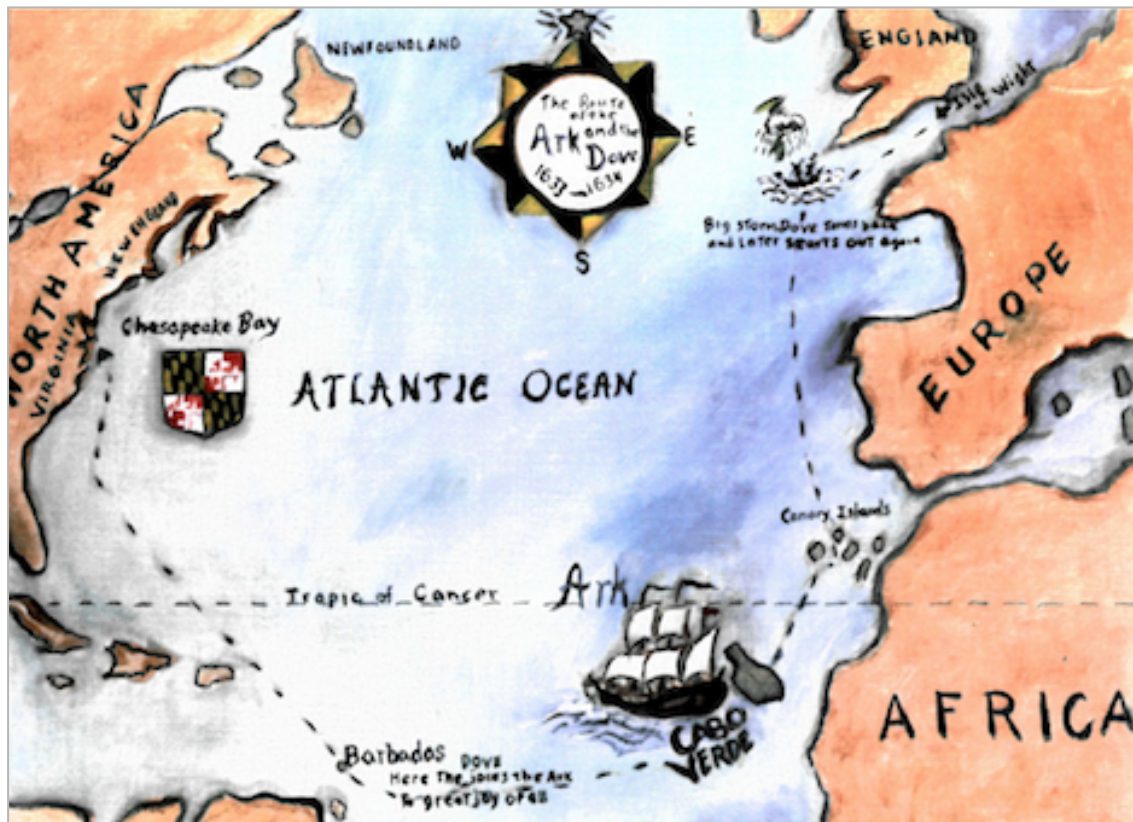


Fig 2. Route of English settlers traveling from England to Virginia and Maryland 1633-34. According to a drawing by M. G. Balla.

This voyage also had secondary effects, which would dramatically affect our lives today, but for which we were not aware of at the time. For it was during this voyage of Del Cano that, not only did we learn that the world was round when the crew saw Cabo Verde, but also we learned that one day was missing on the calendar. This missing day would later become the basis for the International Date Line and that explains why we either lose one day or gain one day when traveling around the world. However, history tells us that this missing day was first recorded in Cabo Verde in 1522 during conversations between Cape Verdeans and Del Cano's crew when the crew was trying to determine their actual day of arrival in Cabo Verde (---.23).

Another major effect of this voyage would be the problem of locating the Spice Islands in the Pacific Ocean on the other side of the world. In the Treaty of Tordesilhas, it was determined that everything 370 leagues west of Cabo Verde belonged to Spain and everything east belonged to Portugal for the purpose of discovery and influence.

As a direct result of that treaty, Portugal had claimed that the Spice Islands were in her sphere of influence, but Del Cano's voyage around the world showed that these islands should have been located in Spain's sphere of influence and after several years of arguments, Portugal withdrew her claims to this area. This decision would have a major effect on the role enjoyed by Spain in the Pacific, which allowed for the colonization of the Philippines that lasted for nearly four centuries, while

Portugal claimed several areas in Asia, such as East Timor and Macau, which they possessed for five centuries.

So we can say from all of this information, that the world learned a lot about geography as a direct or indirect result of the discovery of Cabo Verde, in addition to learning more about the peoples and cultures around the world that had been previously unknown.

It should be noted that although I have been talking mostly about Portugal and Spain and their influence during the period of discovery of new lands and oceans, it is paramount that we understand that other European nations began to challenge the rules that were laid down in the Treaty of Tordesilhas by the Pope that benefited Spain and Portugal. These nations would follow the same routes as the Iberian countries and using the same rationale in taking possession of the lands and converting the people to Christianity and imposing a new culture and language in these areas (Jones and Ruddock). That is why today you find English, French and Dutch spoken in dozens of countries around the world. This phenomenon is a direct effect of the discovery of Cabo Verde by Antonio de Noli for which very little has been written.

There are many other elements of western culture with roots in Cabo Verde, such as the transfer of plants and animals to the New World by way of Cabo Verde. Naturally, the reverse effect also applies to this practice, that is, there were many plants and animals that were brought from the new colonies to Europe. Lisbon for example has many streets and parks aligned with trees from her former colonies.



Fig. 3 Nossa Senhora da Luz- built in the 1470s in the town of Alcatraz (Santiago) in Cabo Verde. Painting by M. G. Balla 2007.

CONCLUSION

We should try to remember, that despite the difficulty in trying to understand the world of yesterday and comparing it to that of today, we should try to keep an open mind as much as possible. We must try to understand the world based on the facts as we know them and try our best to make the best decisions based on those facts. I have tried to give you some idea of the facts, which I believe should be attributed to the discovery of Cabo Verde by Antonio de Noli. I mentioned mostly elements of our history and culture that I believe we experience today due to that famous discovery.

But of course, there are many other elements which are directly related to Mister Antonio, such as the beginnings of the Ibero-American culture (Antonio de Noli was appointed as the Governor of Cabo Verde by Portugal and then later after Spain conquered the islands he was appointed by King Ferdinand to be the Governor for Spain's first colony during the Discovery Period) which today consists of more than 600 million people on five continents (Verlinden).

This culture is not only rooted in Cabo Verde, but actually began under the governorship of Antonio de Noli, as mentioned above, first on behalf of Portugal and then later on behalf of Spain. In fact this was Spain's first colony in the New World. So there are many reasons to believe that Mister Antonio represents the key individual who set into motion the development of western civilization, because it certainly did not exist before he took command of Cabo Verde. That is an uncontested fact of history, but rarely if ever discussed.

There is another element to this story which we may not fully understand. In this regard I am referring to the fact that anthropologists, historians and archaeologists have spent fortunes in trying to find answers to the genesis stories in the bible, such as exactly where is Noah's Ark located or where is the Garden of Eden located? Yet as fate would have it, nothing of interest has been spent on the research needed to learn more about the genesis of the New World. This is very difficult to understand, especially since we know where Cabo Verde is located. We know where Ribeira Grande is located. We know where the first church in the New World is located.

We even have one church which was built in the 1470's and where mass is still celebrated once a year (Nossa Senhora da Luz, Fig.3). There are many more stories to tell about this archipelago that would give us a much better understanding of the beginnings of the New World and the world we live in today.

We also know with certainty that a new ethnic cultural group evolved through the transmutation of different ethnic groups that resulted in the birth of the Cape Verdean people¹⁶¹. Thus, it is believed that this new ethnic cultural group can play a fundamental role in research regarding evolution since the Cape Verdean people obviously did not exist before 1460. In the meantime this new ethnic cultural group

¹⁶¹ According to Imerindo Lessa, "Cabo Verde is a demonstration of the first known Euro-Afro-Asian civilization" ("MACAU", Lisbon. 1996 p. 25). Further, Leopold S. Senghor writes, "... world wide racial mixing started with the great discoveries in the 15th century and the African Slave Trade. All of these events are attributable to Cabo Verde in the 15th century" (In "Biologia and Mesitçagem". Evora. 1989).

is available to provide scientists with a unique opportunity to observe, measure and test the evolution of a new ethnic group. A major obstacle in the past was the acknowledgment that evolution had occurred but was not observed while it was happening¹⁶². However, now for perhaps the first time in history a new ethnic cultural group is known to have evolved (during the last 550 years and spread across 5 continents) and it is still in its embryonic stage of development which should make it an ideal group to be studied and observed by scientists.

Historically, it has been argued that scientists could not apply the scientific method to past events such as evolution as those are no longer available for observation, measurement or testing. It must be stressed that the history of Cabo Verde has never been fully developed and the Cape Verdean people have been virtually invisible in the eyes of historians and scientists in the past. As a result of this "social invisibility" factor, these people have never been considered as a new ethnic group and this historical fact can be verified by many institutions and agencies in the USA, whereby, the Cape Verdean people are not considered to be an ethnic cultural group that is formally recognized by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB). This federal agency manages the statistics of ethnic groups in America and authorizes funding for various ethnic programs.

Further investigations in this area would also give the local economy a tremendous boost, while developing ties to other nations of interest who seek this hidden knowledge. It would also give us a golden opportunity to share our history and work together in the teaching of this history. Just like the Bible has been written and taught in many languages around the world, the history of Cabo Verde should also be written and taught in different languages around the world so that people will finally learn the truth about the genesis of the New World. This information would have been extremely difficult to teach during the colonial period of history, but now Cabo Verde has been an independent nation for 35 years and currently celebrating 550 years of history after the discovery by Antonio de Noli in 1460. This should be a unique opportunity for the world to take notice and seek solutions for the teaching of this history which has been buried for the past 550 years.

Note: I would like to say that there are some research institutions that are starting to take notice of the need to investigate this history after all these years and that some progress is being made but there is certainly a lot more that needs to be done. Perhaps most important is the need to bring this history to the schools so that people will be aware of this phase of history. The Antonio de Noi Academic Society will hopefully play a leading role in the development of this history.

Acknowledgments

I would like to personally thank Signora Teresa Vincenti of the City Hall of Noli for all the help she gave me, because without her assistance my work would have been nearly impossible. She introduced me to Professor Corradino Astengo of the

¹⁶² According to Richard Dawkins "Evolution has been observed. It's just that it hasn't been observed while it is happening".
http://www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcript349_full.html#dawkins

University of Genoa who provided me with invaluable data for my research. She also introduced me to Dr. Flavio Menardi, the director of the historical library in Finalborgo who provided me with his valuable time and expertise in learning the hidden secrets about Antonio de Noli.

I would also like to thank the Mayor of Noli, Ambrogio Repetto and the Mayor of Serra Ricco, Andrea Torre for their understanding and support of this research project which has deeply enriched the lives of many people besides me and my fellow researchers but also the many people who attended my lectures or read some of my articles that have been published in several newspapers or books that I have completed. I offer my personal thanks to the Cape Verdean Ambassador in Italy, Dr. Eduardo Barbosa for the many hours he spent with me in meetings to discuss the importance of the history of Antonio de Noli and Cabo Verde. Likewise, I must thank Dr. Arnaldo Andrade, the former Cape Verdean Ambassador to Portugal who spent valuable time with me in discussing this project. Dtra. Fernanda Fernandes is a former Ambassadors and now the Ministress of Communities in Cabo Verde who also assisted me with a lot of work at the beginning of my project. Professor Alberto Peluffo of the City of Noli and the newly elected president of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society has done an excellent job in translating the current book from English to Italian which is a tremendous benefit to the society.

Finally, I would like to thank Professor Marcello Ferrada de Noli for his enthusiastic support for my research and his profound interest and injecting new life into what seemed like a dying project and especially for his initiative in creating the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, because this society has the potential to bring the history of Antonio de Noli and the Cape Verdean people to the mainstream media and the classrooms of the world where it really belongs. To all of these people and many more not mentioned here, I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

Works cited

Exploring Maryland Roots: Library. Mathias de Sousa. Web. 19 Oct. 2012.
«mdroots.thinkport.org/Library/mathiasdesousa.asp»

Jones, Evan T. and Alwyn Ruddock. John Cabot and his Discovery of America. University of London School of Advanced Studies. 5 Apr. 2007. Web. 17 Jun.2011.

Historia da Igreja em Cabo Verde. Diocese Santiago CV.
«diocesessantiago.cv/?page_id=129» Web. 19 Oct. 2012.

Pereira, Daniel A. Marcos Cronológicos da Cidade Velha. Instituto Cabo Verdiano do Livro 1998. 23 Print.

Verlinden, Charles. Antonio da Noli and the Colonization of the Cape Verde Islands. In Revista da Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa 3ª serie nº 7 1963. 28-45 Print.

Annex

A few words about this annex

The documents in this annex provide us with the opportunity to understand the process that was used to determine that Antonio de Noli was in fact the “official discoverer” and the first settler of Cabo Verde based on the original documents that are archived in the ANTT (the national archives of the Torre de Tombo) in Lisbon. Once we fully understand this fact of history it becomes much easier for us to understand his role in the development of the modern world.

Additional information is also provided that shows the coins that were minted to commemorate the 550 year anniversary of the discovery of Cabo Verde as well as the 35 years of independence. Here I would like to stress the 35 years of independence, because if Cabo Verde was not independent today, it would have been virtually impossible for the Cape Verdean parliament to pass a resolution that would allow the young nation to participate in an international congress that would debate the issues that have been presented in this book.

A commission was also created in Cabo Verde for the expressed purpose of commemorating the 550th anniversary of the birth of Cabo Verde. So hopefully the readers will understand that in many ways this book is a direct reflection of the courageous struggle for the independence of Cabo Verde. And as a result of this independence, the world now has a golden opportunity to pursue further studies in learning more about the true meaning of the history of Cabo Verde, which has had an invisible impact on world history but due to political limitations, this history had been literally buried for centuries. Finally this history is now open to the world for investigation and this annex represents just the tip of the iceberg of what the future holds in store for the proper development of research.

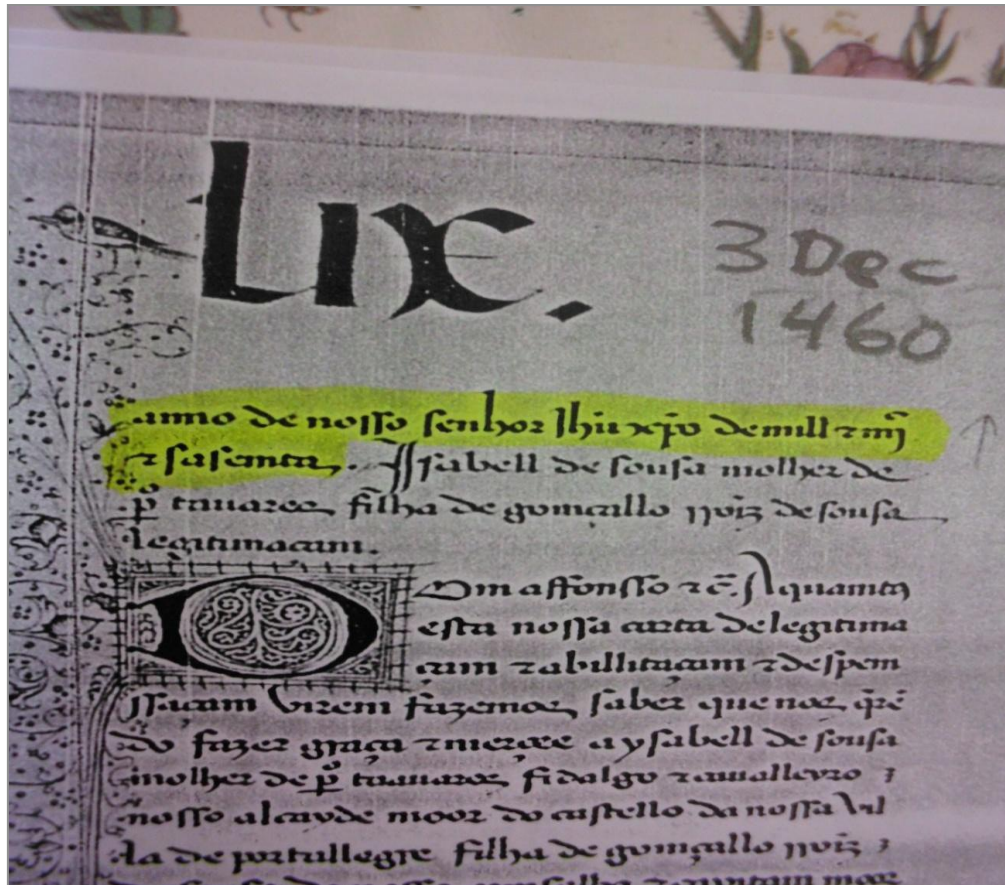


Fig.

A-

1. Letter of 3 Dec 1460

This is the royal grant to the Infante D. Fernando, of the islands of Madeira, Porto Santo, Deserta, S. Luiz. S. Tomas, Santoria, Jesus Cristo, Graciosa, S. Miguel, Santa Maria, S. Jacobe, S. Felipe, Maias, S. Cristavao and Lana.

The last 5 islands here are the first known islands of Cabo Verde and were part of a royal gift that was granted to the Infante D.Fernando after the death of Prince Henry the Navigator, who died on 13 Nov 1460.

This is the first known document where the Cape Verde Islands are mentioned with their original names and only these 5 were known at this time. The remaining islands of the archipelago were discovered shortly afterwards.

Ref: ANTT, Misticos, L.3, fl 58v-59 (Published in Alguns documentos do ANTT, p. 27).

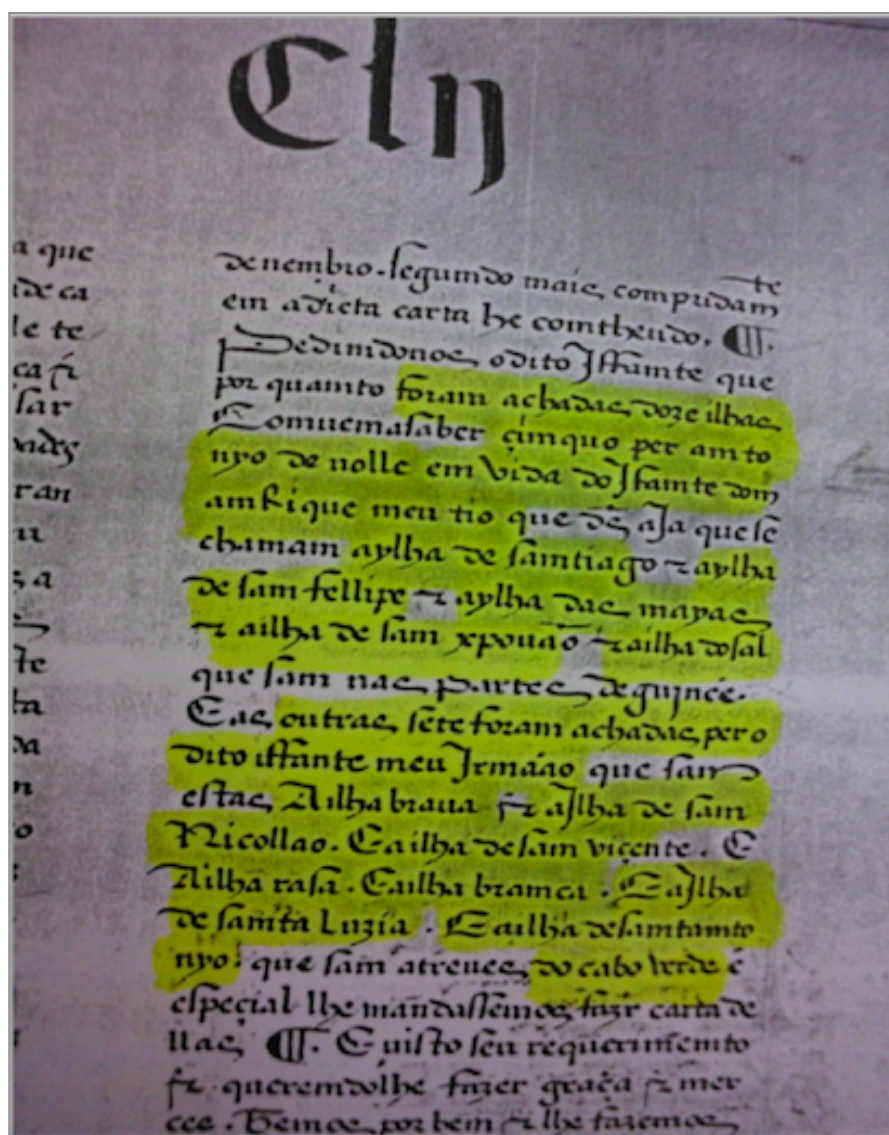


Fig. A-2. Letter of 19 Sep 1462 – Detail I. Grant to the Infante D. Fernando of all of the Cape Verde Islands. This document was made after it was clear that all of the Cape Verde Islands had been discovered. Nearly 2 years had passed since the first 5 islands were mentioned. Now for the first time the name of the discoverer, *amtonyo De nolle*, is given as having discovered the first 5 islands during the life of the Infante, D. Henrique (Prince Henry the Navigator, who died in 1460). The other 7 islands - Brava, S. Nicolau, . Vicente, Rasa and Branca (these 2 are islets), Santa Luzia and Santo Antao - are mentioned for the first time as having been discovered, although the discoverer is not named in this document. Ref: ANTT, Chanc. D. Afonso V. L.1, fl. 61, Misticos, L.2, fl.152-152v. (Published in *Alguns documentos do ANTT*, pp. 31-32)

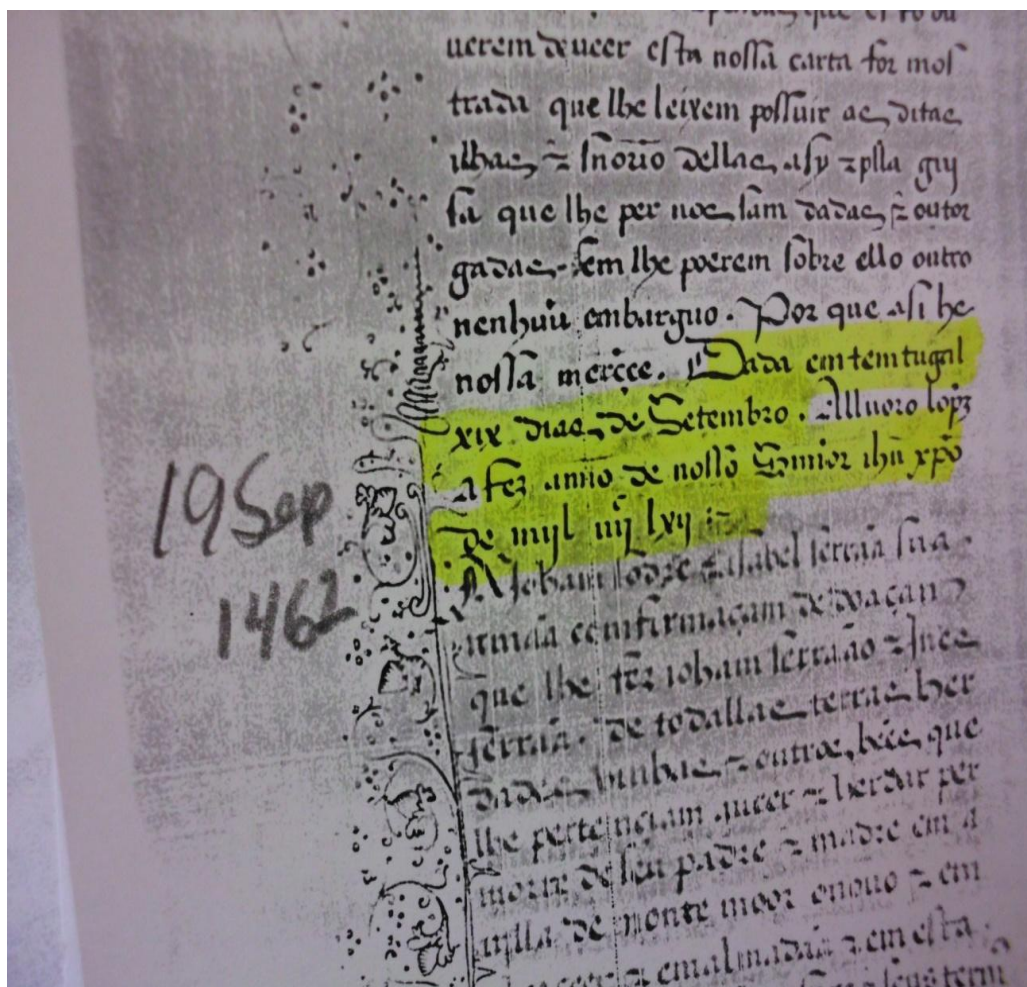


Fig. A-3. Letter of 19 Sep 1462 – Detail II

A continuation of the same document in page above, showing the date of the Letter as being 19 Sep 1462.

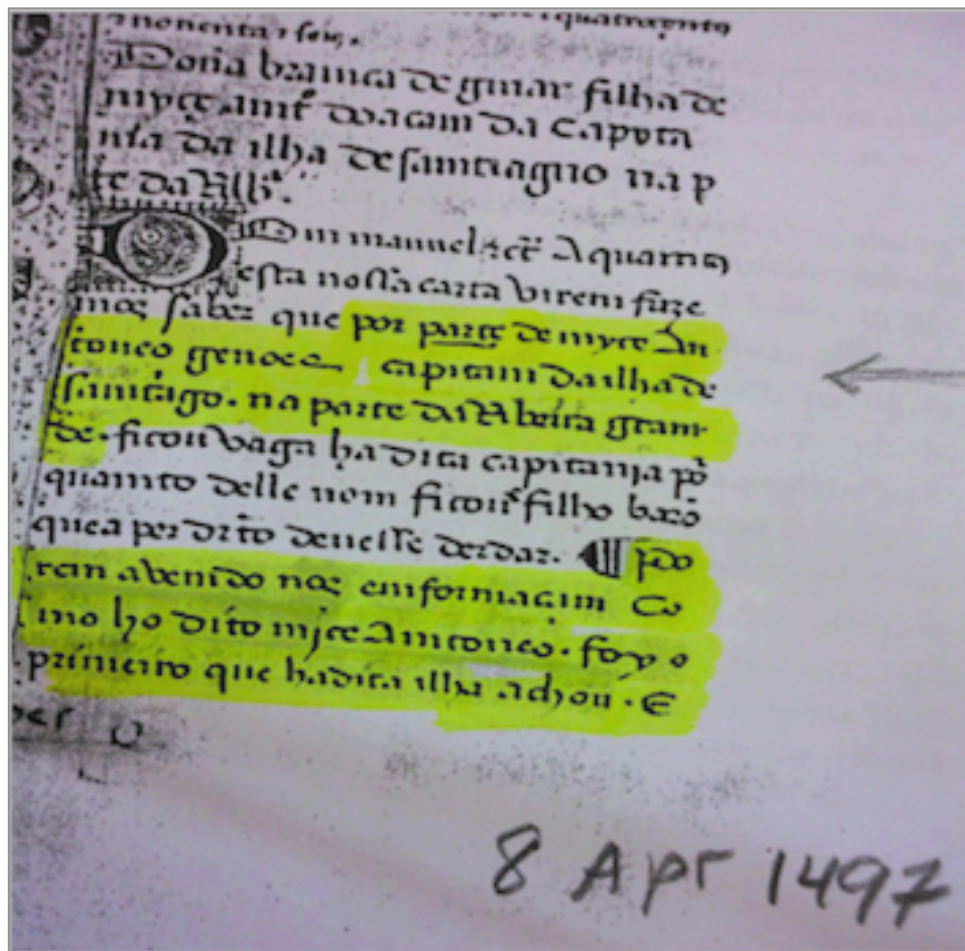


Fig. A-4. Royal Letter of 8 Apr 1497 – Detail I. This is the Royal Letter which ordered the transfer of the estate of Antonio de Noli (the Capitania), to his daughter D. Branca de Aguiar.

Note to Royal Letter of 8 Apr 1497 [Fig. A-4, Detail I., Above]

The Royal Letter of 8 Apr 1497 confirmed that Antonio de Noli was the first to discover Cabo Verde. It is apparent that there must have been some confusion or doubts regarding this matter, but the letter clearly states that, “based on the information available, Antonio de Noli was the first to discover Cabo Verde” (*myce Antoneo foy o primeiro que ha dita ilha achou*).

Another observation in the Letter’s text is the explanation-statement “por parte de myce Antoneo genovês, capitam da ilha de Samtiago, na parte da Ribeira Gramde, ficou vaga ha dita capitania, porcuamto delle non ficou filho barõ que a per direito deuesse derdar” (“because of the departure of Antonio de Noli, Genoese, the captain of the island of Santiago in the locality of Ribeira Grande, the aforementioned governorship remained vacant because he had no son there with the right to inherit”).

However, since other scholars have documented the existence of at least one son of Antonio de Noli (a son of Antonio de Noli is documented to have accompanied the explorer in battle during in his Gambia campaign of 1456 – Ref: Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira, ed. 1945, Vol XVIII. Page 836) scholars have pointed to other factors that would explain the fact that the inheritance went by decree in that special Royal Letter to Antonio’s daughter Branca - after she would marry a Portuguese noble man (D. Jorge Correa de Souza) chosen by the Portuguese king.

Another observation is that the Letter expresses the transferring of the estate owned by de Noli and the governorship “because of the *departure* of Antonio (de Noli)” and not because of the *demise* of Antonio de Noli.

In fact, the whereabouts of Antonio de Noli and his family at the time after the repossession of the Cape Verde Islands by the Portuguese – and until it was documented their arrival in Cesena ca. 1498 - are unknown; with the exception of his Portuguese daughter D. Branca de Aguiar.

It has been put forward the thesis that the political behaviour of the Governor during the Lusitanian-Castilian war (A de Noli remained governor under the military occupation of Cape Verde by the Castilians) sealed both his fate and that of his reported male descendant. They would not be permitted to rule Cape Verde in the future for reasons of national security, and this situation was a major concern of the Portuguese monarchy (See Ferrada de Noli et. al. *The aftermath of the Lusitanian-Castilian war of 1475-1479 and its consequences for the de Noli family*, in Cap 4, above: “Returning to Italy.Descendants of the De Noli family in Cesena and Genoa 1497 – 1881”) ¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Page 42 in this book

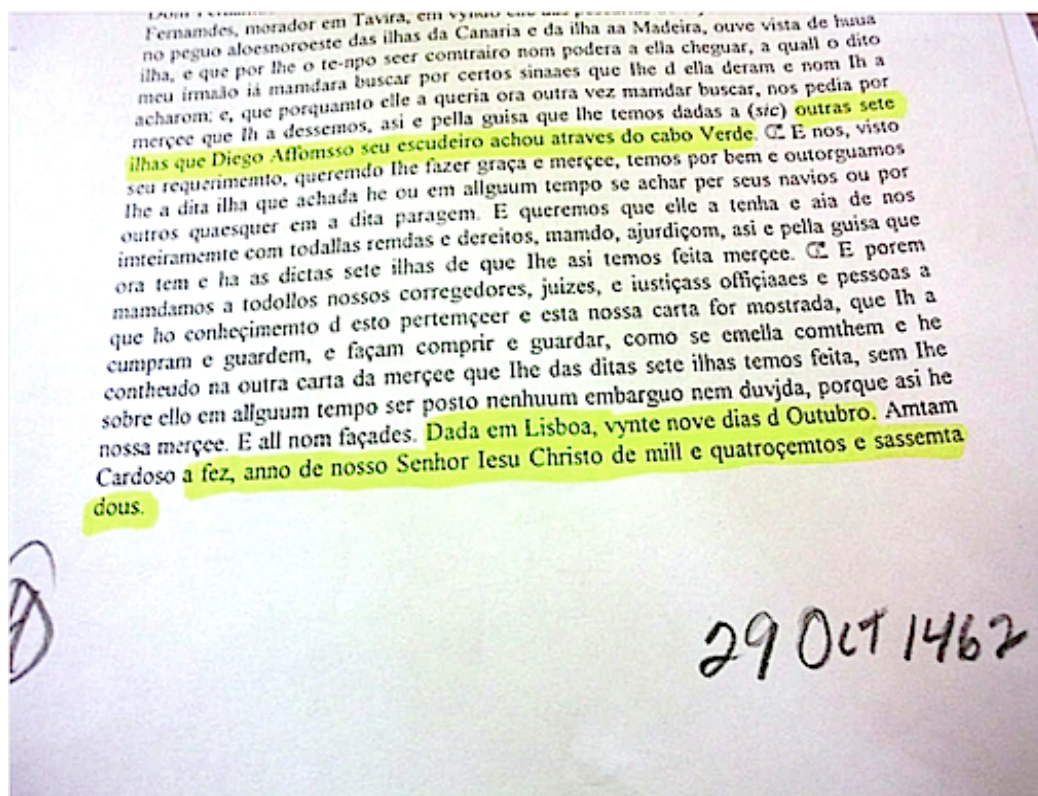


Fig. A-5. Letter of 29 Oct 1462. This is the royal letter that confirms that it was in fact Diogo Afonso, the king's scribe, who discovered the other 7 islands that were mentioned in the letter of 19 Sep 1462. There never was any controversy on this one. Ref: ANTT, Misticos, vol. 2º, fl.155

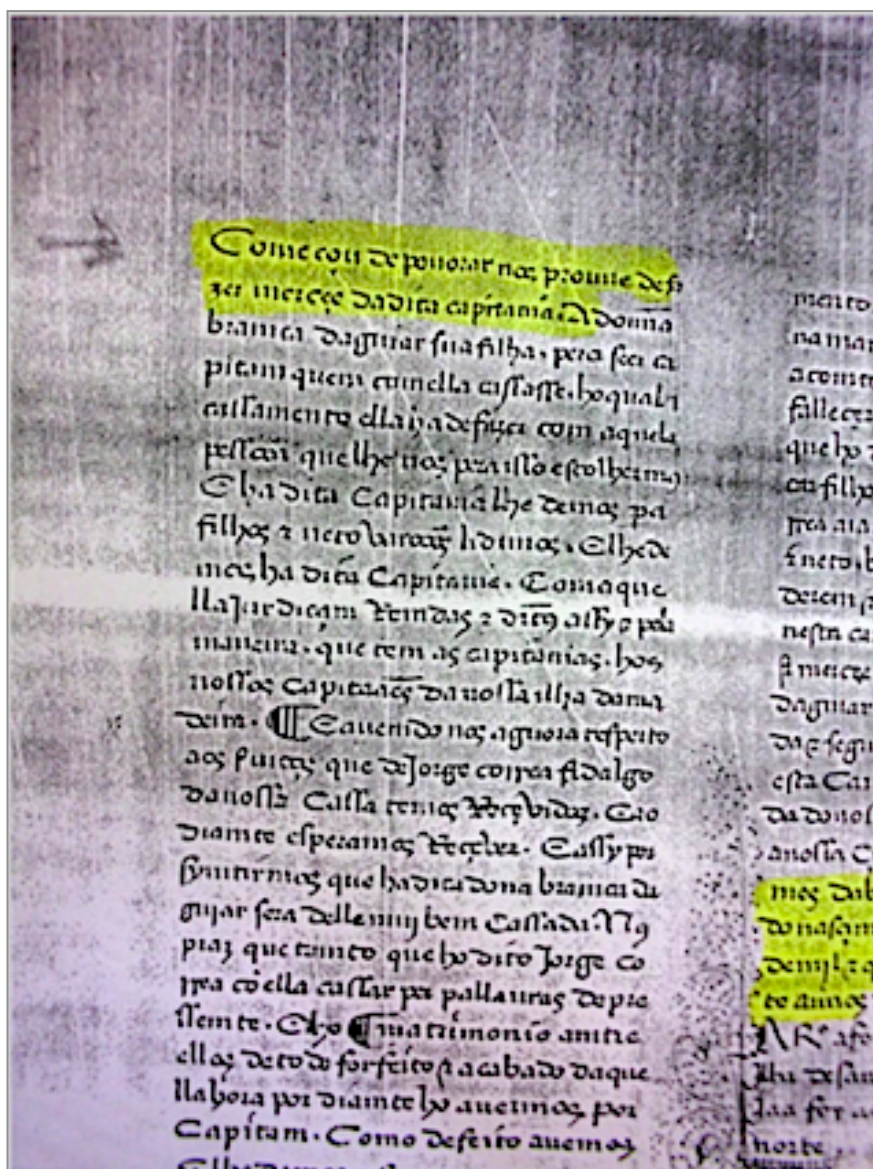


Fig. A-6. Letter of 8 Apr 1497 – Detail II – Antonio de Noli established the first settlement. This is a continuation of the same letter referred in Fig. A-4. This text explains in the first line that Antonio de Noli established the first settlement (*começou de povoar*)

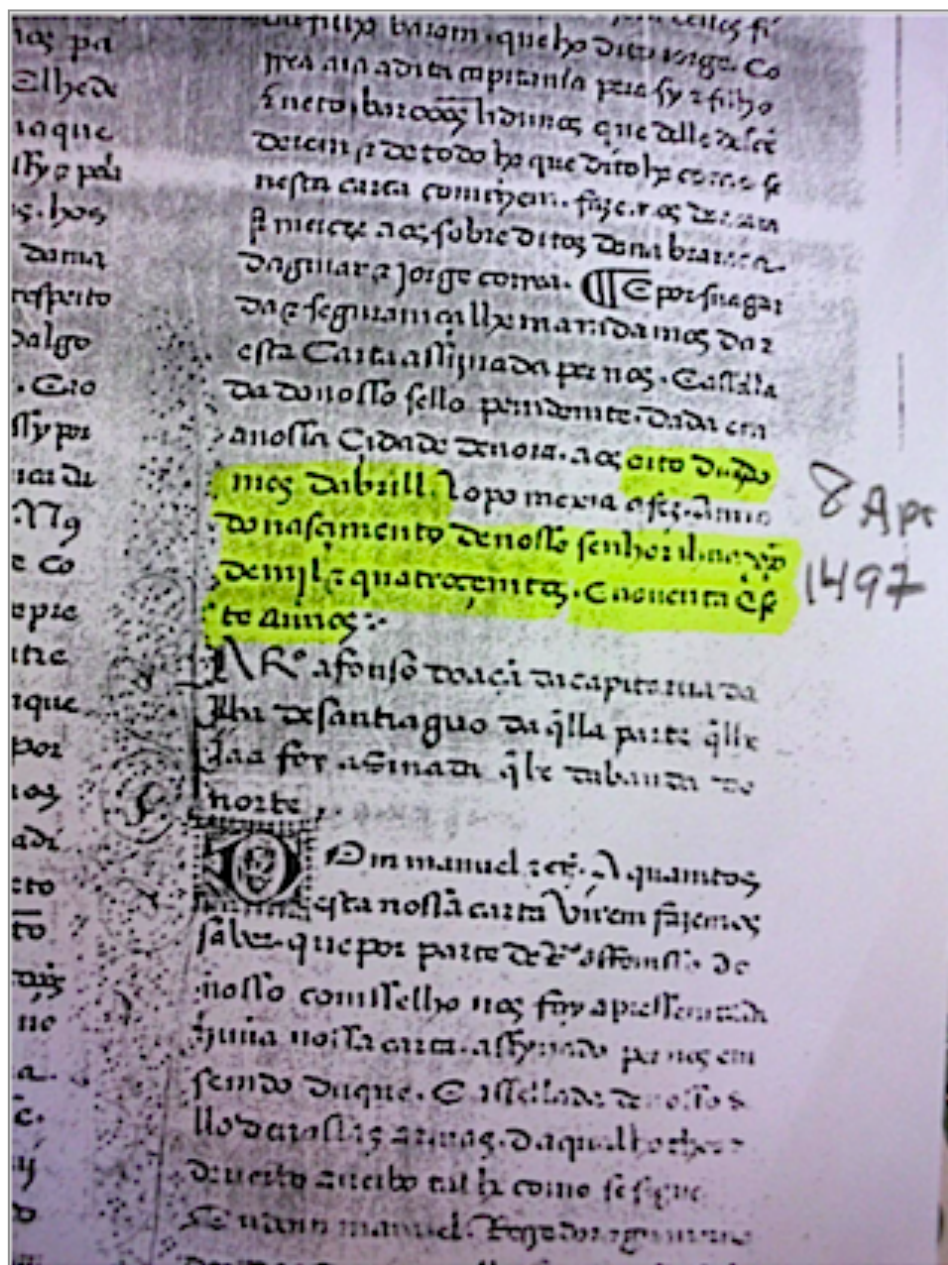


Fig. A-7 Letter of 8 Apr 1497 – Detail III. This is still the same letter on the same page in the next column that gives the date of the letter as 8 Apr 1497.



Fig. A-8. COMMEMORATIVE COINS. These 250 Escudo coins were minted to commemorate 35 years of Independence for Cabo Verde and the 550th anniversary of the discovery of Cabo Verde (2010). The edition sponsored by the Bank of Cabo Verde.



Fig. A-9. COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS. These stamps were issued to commemorate the 550th anniversary of the discovery of Cabo Verde (2010) and sponsored by the national post office of Cabo Verde



Fig. A-10. Antonio de Noli Venetian Map. Original 1700' Venetian map showing "Antonio di Nola Genovese" as the discoverer of Cabo Verde (lower left side of map). It also designates an area of Africa as "GHENEOA" (Genoa) (upper right corner of map). This name appears to have been strongly influenced by the possibility of Antonio de Noli's presence in the area. Map purchased in Lisbon by M. G. Balla



Fig. A-11. INSULAE PROMONTORII Viridis. This is an original 17th century map by Nicolas Sanson that was purchased by M. G. Balla in Lisbon in 2002. This is a map of Cabo Verde and West Africa with an area designated as GENHOA (Genoa). The site located just to the left of the word NIGRITA REGNUM in the upper right of the map (See map-detail below). A strong indication of the reported presence in the area of the Genoese explorer Antonio de Noli.

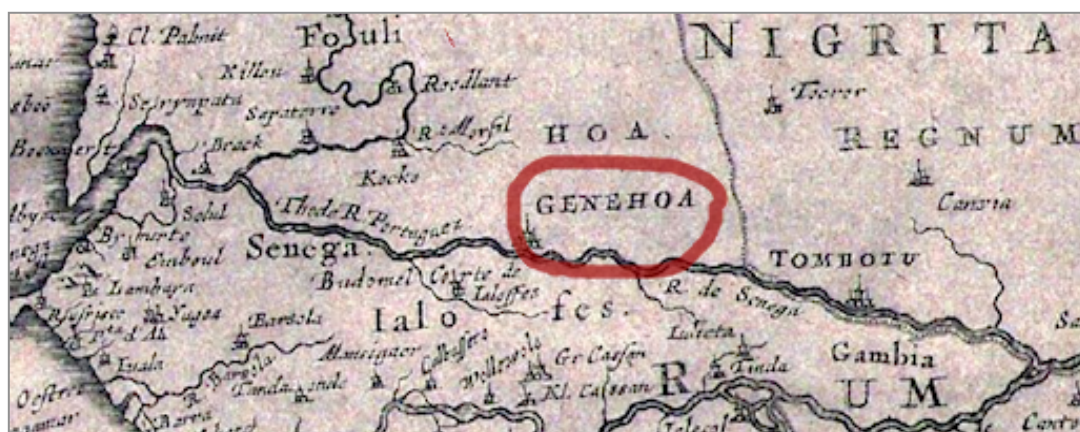


Fig. A-12. Genehoa. Detail of INSULAE PROMONTORII Viridis

7

The Impact of the 550-Year History of Cape Verde on the USA

By Vasco R. A. Pires, Bs. Ed., Massachusetts College of Art & Design

This year 2010, Cape Verdeans, along with supporters from all over the world, commemorate the 550 year history of Cape Verde. We also celebrate 35 years of independence from Portuguese Colonial rule. During these 550 years, there were five major events, that had an impact on the USA: 1) The birth of the Cape Verdean people 2) The Atlantic Slave Trade 3) The growth of the Whaling industry 4) Emigration and 5) The struggle for Independence, led by Amilcar Cabral.



Photo of Ribeira Grande, Santiago, Cape Verde ©2004 Vasco Pires

Cape Verdeans owe a debt of gratitude to the Kings and Queens of the European nations motivated by the potential expansion of their economic base. By exploring other regions of the world and exploit commercial opportunities they hoped to find there, with the use of captured human beings as free labor. As an unintended consequence, we, (Cape Verdeans of the African Diaspora) are living examples of self determination of a people's will to strive, survive and demonstrate to the world the power of the human spirit to prevail, despite oppression and exploitation.

We owe a special debt of gratitude to the Italian Captain Antonio de Noli, his arrival in the Cape Verde Islands in 1460, while in the service of Portugal, was pivotal, because soon after his arrival, he established the first European settlement in the tropics. He was soon appointed Governor by the Portuguese Crown. As the first Governor he brought together a population of Portuguese, Italians, Spanish, free Africans sailors, slaves and others. This mix of people would have an impact on the new world that was never anticipated.

Over the years nature takes its course, the African slave women become the predominate bearers of a new multicultural population. Although the intent was to civilize and Christianize the Africans by taking them away from their natural environment and culture, these African captives actually adapted and incorporated European culture into a new hybrid of human beings, thus Cape Verdean Creole culture was born. The rest is history and the New World is forever changed. The true history of Cape Verde is still a work in progress.

We are fortunate to have with us, a direct descendant of Captain Antonio De Noli, Dr. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, who has made it his mission to research and document the history of his ancestor's role in the discovery and establishment of the multicultural society of Cape Verde. The Antonio De Noli Academic Society, which he founded, is dedicated to uncovering the missing pieces of the multidimensional Cape Verdean history puzzle.

The Birth of the Cape Verdean People.

In the process of trying to find a way around Africa, Portugal, Spain and other nations discovered that there was a market in trading captured human beings. For a little gold or other commodities they could buy captured Africans and sell them in Europe for a solid profit. The rulers of Portugal and Spain were happy to add to their revenues and the Church was happy to be able to (save the Africans and non Christians from hell and damnation).

Thus begins the infamous Atlantic Slave Trade. Cape Verde becomes a key distribution point in shipping slaves to the new world.

Since the 1420s Portuguese were trading and transporting captured Africans from the west coast of Africa, taking them to Portugal and other European ports. Africans existed for some years in these parts of the world before the Portuguese arrivals in the Cape Verde Islands. After a time - a small number of "free" slaves emerged. It was possible some worked as crew aboard ships or were mulattos among the settlers of Santiago in the early years of the settlement of Cape Verde.

According to Antonio Carreira, the number of people living on the islands of Santiago and Fogo in the first few years numbered around 8,000 by 1468, which included free and slave, as well as slaves for export. (based on estimates by Simao Barros). Carreira continues, that by 1513 the population of Ribeira Grande consisted of 58 white males, 56 natives of Portugal, 12 priests, 4 single white women, 16 black men and 16 black women. He then continues, by 1549 the population of Santiago and Fogo reached 1,200; by 1572 to 12,000 and by 1582 to 15,700. At this time, Carreira reports that those of mixed descent - mestisos and pardos - are singled out as 600 *white and pardo men*, with 400 *free married blacks* (inland Santiago) and 300 *inhabitants* on Fogo. In Ribeira Grande and Praia was a total of 708, with acclimatized slaves or newly arrived, at 13,700. (Brasio, 1962)

This is why I believe Cape Verde became a melting pot for a transnational brew of people, we now call, Cape Verdeans. A 550 year history that is still having an impact on The United States today.

Between 1462 - 1466 with the establishment of the settlement of Ribeira Grande, Cape Verde becomes the epicenter for the voyages of discovery to the New World and the exploitation of the peoples found there. With the Church's blessing, permission was given to Portugal and Spain to exploit any discoveries and non Christians they came across in their explorations of the new world. (Pope Nicholas V 1452)

The Slave Trade became a very lucrative commodity because of the great demand for free labor in Europe and the developing industries of Sugar and Cotton in the New World.

Brychan Carey, a British researcher on the history of the Slave trade provides some important insights on many aspects of the Slave Trade and the personal stories of individual Africans. In his time line he includes important bench marks in the development of the slave trade:

- 1441: *"Start of European slave trading in Africa. The Portuguese captains Antão Gonçalves and Nuno Tristão capture 12 Africans in Cabo Branco (modern Mauritania) and took them to Portugal as slaves."* (Thomas, 1997)

- 1452: *"Start of the 'sugar-slave complex', sugar is first planted in the Portuguese Island of Madeira and, for the first time, African slaves are put to work on the sugar plantations. 18 June 1452: Pope Nicholas V issues Dum Diversas, a bull authorizing the Portuguese to reduce any non-Christians to the status of slaves."* (Thomas, 1997)

448 years before I was born on 3 November 1493: Carey's time line confirms that: *"On his second voyage, Columbus again reaches the New World (modern Dominica). On this voyage he initiates the first transatlantic slave voyage, a shipment of several hundred Taino people sent from Hispaniola to Spain."* (Thomas, 1997)

There are two very significant events that Cary's time line reveals that are not discussed in most history books on the Slave trade. The subject of successful Slave rebellions are very rare.

- 1516: *"The governor of Cuba, Diego Velázquez, authorizes slave-raiding expeditions to Central America. One group of slaves aboard a Spanish caravel rebel and kill the Spanish*

crew before sailing home-the first successful slave rebellion recorded in the New World." (Thomas, 1997)

•1522: *"A major slave rebellion breaks out on the island of Hispaniola. This is the first significant uprising of African slaves. After this, slave resistance becomes widespread and uprisings common."* (Thomas, 1997)

"Esteban" is the first African Slave, to step on what is now the USA. Carey's Time line notes:

•November 1528: *"A slave called Esteban (or Estevanico) becomes the first African slave to step foot on what is now the United States of America. He was one of only four survivors of Pánfilo de Narváez's failed expedition to Florida. He and the other three took eight years to walk to the Spanish colony in Mexico. After their return in 1536, the group's leader, Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, published an account of their journey through modern Texas & Mexico (1542)."* (Thomas, 1997)

Carey also makes a connection to Genoa, when he relates in the time line that in

•1556: *"The Italian City of Genoa tries to prevent trading in slaves - not for any humanitarian reasons - but only in an attempt to reduce the numbers of Africans in the city."* (Thomas, 1997)

Finally, in his time line Carey adds: *"31 January 1865: Thirteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States proposed. The amendment stated that: 'Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.'* 6 December 1865: *Ratification of thirteenth amendment completed."* (Thomas, 1997)

(<http://www.brycchancarey.com/slavery/index.htm>, accessed Aug, 2010)

Slaves were first introduced into Colonial America in 1619 at the settlement of James Town, in what is now the state of Virginia.

The impact that the institution of Slavery has had on The USA is well documented. From the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War and it continues to this day with the Election of America's first African-American President. If it were not for the European explorers coming across the Islands of Cape Verde 550 years ago, would there even be an America as we know it today?

I would like to share a poem published in my latest book, "SOUL & SPIRIT, Discovering Our Roots in Cape Verde." It is titled Golden Seeds. It represents my expression of the 550-year history of Cape Verde.

Golden Seeds

Hundreds of years ago in the lush coastal forests and shores of West Africa, there were places where human treasures and culture abound. Evil beings, both black and white, lurked around.

They searched for human treasure to feed the greed of new world industries, Cotton, Tobacco, Sugarcane and Rum. Labor for free. Blue indigo Panu cloths, made by slaves in Cape Verde were used to pay the fee.

From West Africa to the Islands of Cape Verde, we were taken. Golden Seeds uprooted from paradise, to lands forsaken.

Family ties broken, brothers, sisters, sons, and daughters no more to be found.

Religious authority, strived to replace our spirituality. They tried to rob us of our humanity. Culture became our shield, protecting our hearts, minds, and souls.

To blood-red shores of the new world we are bound. Golden seeds carried by wind and sea. We sail to our destiny. We are taken from the "Green Islands" chained, in dark holds of ships, unwilling and prone. Our treasures of spirit and culture are all we own.

Golden Seeds bred in the hot beds of colonialism. Hybrid seeds of golden humanity set adrift on trade winds of slavery.

Golden seeds, tarnished by the rusting chain triangle, spanning the Atlantic, connecting the Americas, Europe, and the Caribbean.

In America, the Blue and Gray states engage in battle for high stakes. Blue prevails.

The chain is broken. Golden Seeds are free, free to bloom are we.

A new life we find, in our new country.

Before the sound of freedom leaves our lips, we are wished back to those dreaded ships.

Strangled by weeds of ignorance, hate, and bigotry we are stripped of our humanity. Again, we are denied, freedom of opportunity. Is America, a land of freedom, justice, and liberty?

There is peace and dignity for some, but not everyone. America, what have we done? Are we not equal? In truth, we are the same. Dignity and happiness we also claim.

We see other lands and cultures struggling for freedom and dignity in their homelands. All human beings are on common ground. We all have dreams and aspirations.

The Americas are now where Golden Seeds abound. Over four hundred years, struggling to reach the light, we now see golden seeds of hope, blossoming out the darkness. Will we continue to bloom, keeping hope, peace, and unity for all, in sight?

Yes, we can. Yes, we must. Yes, we will.

-© 2010 Vasco R. A. Pires

Whaling Industry

The cordial relations between the United States and Cape Verde have strong historical roots. In the early 18th century, US whaling ships appear to have begun recruiting crews from Brava and Fogo to hunt whales that were abundant in the waters surrounding Cape Verde.

In a paper written in 1995 by Raymond A. Almeida, about the Cape Verdean's role in the whaling industry he relates: "Before the American Revolutionary War, New England whaling ships were sailing off the Cape Verde Islands and picking up crew from the Islands and from the West Coast of Africa. A large population of the best harpooners, pilots, and all around whale men had long been Portuguese-speaking Africans....In almost all the crews, the African figured very prominently and those from Portuguese West Africa proved particularly outstanding as whale men. These crew, known collectively as "Bravas" usually far surpassed all others of whatever racial or national origin." (Sanderson, 1956)

Almeida describes how Yankee ship owners, known for their frugality, preferred to recruit men in Cape Verde where the men "worked hard to save what they could while on board the vessel and they could be hired for much less money than American crew. Furthermore, they made a disciplined crew." (Haywood)

Almeida goes on to share that, already during the first decades of the nineteenth century, three-eighths of the crews of the Nantucket whaling ships were "colored." (Hohman, 1928)

The shanty town where they lived on the outskirts of the town of Nantucket became known as "Guinea-Town" or "New Guinea" after the Guinea Coast of West Africa. From about 1825 to 1875, an average of 100 whaling ships per year called at the Cape Verde Islands for supplies, men, and recreation.(Hohman, 1928)

I would like to share a poem I composed, It was published in my latest book, titled: SOUL & SPIRIT Discovering Our Roots in Cape Verde, 2010. This poem was inspired by the men from Cape Verde, who crewed the Whaling ships.

The Whaling Man

I am a Cape Verdean Whaling Man.

I have seen many lives lost at sea

While I worked

In the whaling industry.

Families to feed and places to go

Adventure and a better life,

Were all good reasons for me

To venture out to sea.

I am a Cape Verdean Whaling Man.

To all corners of the world I have sailed.

Carried by trade winds,

I have followed the whales to far off lands.

Along this ocean highway,

*Many of us would stray
From the ships to plant new seeds
In these exotic lands.
I am a Cape Verdean Whaling Man.
All four continents have been my hunting grounds.
Searching the bays and all the sounds, nothing was out of bounds.
For to catch a whale, was always in our plans.
I am a Cape Verdean Whaling Man.
From Brava and Fogo I have departed.
Around the world my life has expanded.
I now return to finish my life where I started.
I am a Cape Verdean Whaling Man.*

- ©2010 Vasco R. A. Pires



The Port of Furna, Island of Brava, Cape Verde Photo ©2005 Vasco R. A. Pires

According to Robert McNamara in his 19th Century History Guide, he states: "The principal product of the whaling industry was oil and blubber." The most valuable

oil came from the head of the sperm whale. This spermaceti oil was waxy, and commonly used in making candles.

McNamara continues: "Candles made of spermaceti were considered the best in the world, producing a bright clear flame without an excess of smoke."

McNamara further informs us that, "Spermaceti was also used, distilled in liquid form, as an oil to fuel lamps." Besides Nantucket and Salem, the main American whaling port on the East Coast was, New Bedford, Massachusetts, it was aptly known as "The City That Lit the World."

The bones and teeth of various species of whales were used in a number of products, many of them common implements in a 19th century household. Whales are said to have produced "the plastic of the 1800s."

For more information on the Whaling Industry, see: <http://www.whalingmuseum.org/> www.whalingmuseum.org/visit/index.html.

Again, I would like to refer to Mr. Ray Almeida's description of the Cape Verdean Mariners in the Whaling industry. He relates: "When all others abandoned the old sailing ships, the Cape Verdeans bought the decrepit vessels out of their earnings as crew and kept patching them up with loving care. Eventually, they came to own almost all that remained of the New Bedford fleet, either by buying or by default."

Continuing, Mr. Almeida tells of Theophilus Freitas from the Island of Sao Nicolau, Cape Verde, was captain of the Pedro Varela for her last voyage in 1918. He was also mate on the Charles W. Morgan which frequently stopped in Cape Verde for provisions and crew and now remains preserved in the Mystic, Connecticut, historic seaport. He pays honor to Cape Verdean whaling captains of courage and perseverance that include the names of Teofilo Gonzales, Luis Oliveira, Jose Senna, Julio Fernandes, Jose Perry and Joseph Gomes. Joseph Gomes wrote an autobiography of his whaling adventures, Captain Joe, in 1960. (Falmouth Enterprise, June 12, 1973; New Bedford Standard Times, Feb. 17, 1974).

Emigration

With Whaling came emigration. Ties between the American colonies and Cape Verde are documented as early as the 1740s, when American ships routinely anchored in Cape Verdean ports to trade for salt or buy slaves.

The tradition of emigration to the United States began then and continues today. The first U.S. consulate in sub-Saharan Africa was established in Cape Verde in 1818. U.S. consular representation continued throughout the 19th century. The United States recognized Cape Verde on its Independence Day and supported its admission to the United Nations. Cape Verde assigned one of its first ambassadors to the United States, and a resident U.S. ambassador was posted to Cape Verde in 1983. Prime Minister Neves visited Cape Verdean communities in New England during an official trip to the United States in 2002, and President Pires in April 2005. Prime Minister Neves also visited the U.S. in September 2007. In August 2009,

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton visited Sal Island in Cape Verde and met with Prime Minister Neves. (US State Dept., Information)

Among the many sailing vessels owned by Cape Verdeans, the Schooner Ernestina is perhaps the most famous. Bought by Henrique Mendes in 1949, it served as a Packet Schooner until 1964. Many of my own family members immigrated to America on her.

America is a land of immigrants. We each have a unique story to tell. Most stories will never be known beyond the first generation's memories. To fit in with the dominate culture; most immigrants were pressured into denying their cultural roots. I refer to an article written by Gina Sanchez Gibau, "Cape Verdean migration from islands, or the forced



Jack Barboza in His Garden, Cape Cod, USA Photo ©2003 Vasco R. A. Pires

voluntary, constitutes a transnational movement warranting sociocultural adjustment upon settlement into a new locale." (Sanchez Gibau, 2005)

My greatest treasure has been discovering the roots of my identity, my cultural base in the Nation of Cape Verde. This knowledge gives me pride; it adds unique perspective and value to my life.

In 1909 Nicholau and Rosa Pires, emigrated to the United States from the Island of Fogo, Cape Verde. They had four children born in America, Anna, Margaret, Roche, and my father Vasco. One daughter, Mimi, born in Cape Verde, remained there. My grandparents provided support for the first generation born in America to survive and strive for the American dream. They came to America to find a better life and future for those left behind. Survival for those left behind in Cape Verde was dependent on the successes achieved by those who left.

By succeeding in America Cape Verdeans contributed to America's growth as well as Cape Verde. Cape Verdean Associations and clubs provided scholarships for education, so the coming generations could reach a higher level of success, as well as much needed aid to those back home in the islands. Persons like Civil rights activist Eugenia Fortes, US Federal Judge George Leighton, Marcelino Da Graca, founder of the United House of Prayer for All People, and Lawyer Alfred J. Gomes

are among many noted Cape Verdeans who have made an impact on American society.

I would like to share a story with you about Mr. Jack Barboza, his life provides an example of the Cape Verdean work ethic of both male and female immigrants. Jack related to me in 2001 at the age of 100 his story of how he left Cape Verde at the age of 21, leaving his home on the Island of Fogo, Cape Verde in June of 1923. He booked passage aboard the two mast Schooner Vulkaria, captained by “Bedjeme da Lana” (Benjamin Da Costa). The trip took 28 days, he said. At 100 years old, Jack’s mind was clear with a remarkable memory.

Jack is primarily known in America for his work in the cranberry industry. He told me that he worked as a laborer in many areas of Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts. He worked in construction as a bricklayer, laying pipe, digging ditches, landscaping, carpentry and any job he could get.

He finally settled on Cape Cod, Massachusetts and began working on the cranberry bogs, building bogs by hand. He bought a piece of land and built a house, got married and when he retired at age 86 he traveled to his birthplace on the island of Fogo, Cape Verde to visit family. Jack said that he has worked hard all his life and treats everyone with respect, that is his secret to a long life, he said.

From 2001 to 2003 I visited Jack often to interview him on video and just to talk. He enjoyed the fact he could talk to me in Kriolu. He wanted me to tell his story. Jack said to me, “Ah Vasco, nhos e familia (We are family), I have a long story, pra gunta mi ta frabu. (Ask me and I will tell you.” Jack worked everyday in his flower and vegetable garden. On July 26, 2003, I took a picture of Jack picking some vegetables to give to me and my wife. On October 8, 2003, 4 days before his 202 birthday, Jack passed away in his sleep.

Independence

The United States recognized Cape Verde on its Independence Day and supported its admission to the United Nations. Cape Verde assigned one of its first ambassadors to the United States, and a resident US ambassador was posted to Cape Verde in 1983.

The United States provided emergency humanitarian aid and economic assistance to Cape Verde in the period immediately following Cape Verde's independence, as well as after natural disasters, including a hurricane that struck the island of Brava in 1982, after a severe volcanic eruption on Fogo in 1995, after deadly flooding in Sao Nicolau in 2009, and in the wake of a dengue fever epidemic in 2009. Cape Verde also is eligible for trade benefits under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), and has signed an Open Skies agreement to facilitate air travel safety and expansion. On July 4, 2005, Cape Verde became the third country to sign a compact with the U.S. Government-funded Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC); the five-year assistance package is worth over \$110 million in addressing rural economic expansion, infrastructure development, and development of tourism and a community college system. It also became the first

nation to be awarded a second compact, slated to start in FY 2011. (US State Dept., information)

The independence of Cape Verde did not come about easily. Amilcar Cabral paid the ultimate price for accepting the challenge to liberate millions of people from the yolk of colonialism. With a single minded determination to win justice and freedom for all who were oppressed by uncaring colonial regimes, organized and led an armed struggle that lifted the yolk from the people of Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and the Portuguese people themselves. I personally cannot tell this story but there are others who can.

Ana Maria Cabral the widow of Amilcar Cabral continues to tell the story of her husband's commitment to bring justice, freedom and self empowerment to oppressed people everywhere. I believe that the turning point of cultural awareness for Cape Verdeans in the United States of America, was in 1995. To celebrate the 20th anniversary of Cape Verdean Independence, The Center for Folklife and Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, DC., held a World Folklife Festival. The highlight of the event was the Folklife of Cape Verde. For me it was the highlight of my life as an American born Cape Verdean. Rather than trying to paraphrase, allow me to quote the introduction to Ana Maria Cabral's speech about her husband, Amilcar Cabral.

"Cape Verdean Connection: Transnational Community was a featured program at the 1995 Festival of American Folklife at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, DC. At this event, Ana Maria Cabral, widow of Amilcar Cabral, delivered an address about her late spouse's understanding of culture and its implications for modern nationhood. We provide her speech as an opportunity for Cape Verdeans and others to reflect on this important topic. Amilcar Cabral, founder of the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde and Guinea (PAIGC) and a major figure in the struggle against Portuguese colonial rule in Africa, understood the pivotal role of culture in national liberation and nation building. His ideas seem especially apt today when culture looms as large as economic security and military might in shaping world and local events and the responses to them. Culture also holds Cape Verdeans together as a modern, transnational nation. Dual-citizenship and voting rights exercised by Cape Verdeans around the world and their ongoing, informal, international economic relationships with one another are based on cultural values, customs, and traditions passed through generations. The interdependence of Cape Verdeans residing in the Islands and in Diaspora communities is central to Cape Verdean cultural identity and is written into the country's Constitution.

After his assassination by agents of Portuguese colonial regime, Amilcar Cabral was honored as "Founder of the Nationality" for his leadership in the struggle to create the legal and political basis for Cape Verdean independence. Cabral would be the first to point out that the goal of this struggle was to fully realize the nationhood already present in the cultural resistance of the Cape Verdean people."

- Raymond Almeida, Senior Program Advisor, The Cape Verdean Connection

- James Early, Director of Cultural Studies and Communication, Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

- Peter Seitel, Folklorist, Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies.

I would like to share with you some selected quotes from her speech. It was given on the twentieth Anniversary of Cape Verdean Independence, July 5, 1995.

Mrs. Cabral: "Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am honored by the invitation of the Smithsonian Institution to deliver this address at the Festival of American Folklife and begin by considering the delicate mission that brought me here: to present one of the most important aspects of Amílcar Cabral's thought and work, one that has justly left an indelible mark in the history of the popular struggle for freedom in Africa."

This part of her speech is of special interest to me as I think of myself as a poet who shares an affinity with Cabral's work. She states, "Judging from his youthful poems - especially *Ilha and Segue o Teu Rumo Irmao* (ISLAND and FOLLOW BOUND BROTHER) - and other student writings, it seems that culture was the first perspective that Cabral used to think about his epoch, the contradictions of colonial domination, and the conditions of peoples' lives. As an agronomist, he observed the relationship between the dominant and the dominated; this informed his analyses of exploited farmers in Guinea and Angola and of the dramatic consequences of persistent droughts in Cape Verde." I offer my own short poem in remembrance of Cabral:

Son of Cabo Verde

The Son of Cape Verde is gone.

His life ended too early.

However, we need not be afraid.

For, his spirit, like the sea,

Is in all of us.

Fidju di Kabu Verdi

(Cape Verdean translation)

Kel fidju di Kabuverdi dja bai,

Se vida kaba muitu se'du.

Kontudu, nu ka meste ten medu

Pa se spritu e mesmu mar

El na nos tudu.

©Vasco R. A. Pires

Ana quotes from a talk given at the University of Syracuse in February of 1970. "History teaches us that certain circumstances make it very easy for foreign people to impose their dominion. But history also teaches us that no matter what the material aspects of that domination, it can only be preserved by a permanent and organized control of the dominated people's cultural life; otherwise it cannot be definitively implanted without killing a significant part of the population."-(Cabral, 1970)

This quote is very significant to me because in my country we have a history of trying to impose dominion over Native Americans by attempting to strip them of their culture. Fortunately, it was not completely successful.

Here Ana gives an observation on her description on the origins of the unique culture created in Cape Verde. She says, "Cape Verde has undergone a very interesting historical process. Originally a group of uninhabited islands, the archipelago's population resulted mostly from Portuguese exiles' intermarrying with black African slaves and their descendants. Cultural colonization progressively diluted itself in a biological and social mixing that, joined with factors less than favorable to the establishment of a strong metropolitan ruling class, soon imposed on Cape Verdean society a characteristic personality. These are evident everywhere: in linguistic re-creation, musical re-harmonization, ancestral traces in culinary customs, and the more common manifestations of everyday life."

American born Cape Verdeans and others also played an important role in the independence of Cape Verde. There were many who participated in supportive roles here in America, but there were three of these many Americans involved in this effort, whom I have been in personal contact. I will call them, "Salah", "Tony" and "Ray". Salah and Tony traveled to Africa to give support in the struggle for the freedom of their beloved Cape Verde. By living in the jungles of western Africa observing first hand, what was happening on the ground in real time. Their experiences became crucial in describing the reality and facts of what Cabral's forces were accomplishing in helping to empower the people in building a new nation. Tony tells me, "I was compelled to go to Africa because, to inform the supporters of the progress being made and help organize support for the struggle taking place for Cape Verdean independence, I had to be believable, based on the facts of what I saw and experienced". Salah related to me that he spent almost two years in Africa from 1972 to 1974, observing and learning what had to be done on his return to organize The PIAGCV Support committee as an informational resource for those far removed from the struggle. During that period I personally was informed by Ray, through the news letter "Tchuba", which he established.

Today, America is in a much better place due to the struggles of those untold millions of Cape Verdeans arriving on these shores on their own or in the holds of ships during the past 550 years.

Summary Statement

550 years seems like a long time. However, all that time can be condensed into one data base we call history. We can visualize that history in an instant. If history has any value to us at all, it should teach us how we have allowed, our greed, stupidity and anger to rule our actions in creating misery and destruction to our fellow human beings and our environment, all in the name of religion or simply the quest for power and dominion.

The main lesson that I have learned from this 550 Year History of Cape Verde is that as human beings we have tremendous power within our individual lives. We can use this power for great good or we can use it for great evil. In this past 550 year history of Cape Verde, we have witnessed both powers wielded by individual human beings. Individuals who have used that power to subjugate and oppress, opposed to individuals who chose to take action to free and empower fellow human beings for the common good of all.

Another lesson I have learned from history is so the story goes, that more than three thousand years ago an Indian Noble Person walked outside of his compound and observed 4 events. One, the birth of a baby. Two, an old person just barely able to walk. Three a sick person laying by the roadside. Four, a dead corpse. Seeing this, he renounced all he had, and took action in the moment to go out and find the reason humans have to go through these 4 sufferings. What he finally came to realize was that these 4 sufferings were simply the reality of life. All life goes through these 4 stages of: Birth, old age, sickness and death. It is natural. How we use that power within our own lives, determines whether we suffer or not from these realities. One man that I know and appreciate very much is Daisaku Ikeda, President of S. G. I. who exemplifies taking action for the good of all.

My hope is that this conference will not simply be a forum to add more papers to the historical record, but be a defining moment for all of us to reflect and take action now in using the power of our lives to take action for the common good of our fellow human beings and our environment. That is exactly what I believe the President of the United States, Barack H. Obama is working hard to do.

"A great inner revolution in just a single individual will help achieve a change in the destiny of a nation and, further, will cause a change in the destiny of humankind."(-Daisaku Ikeda, 2004)

I am honored to be here in Noli, to celebrate the man, Captain Antonio De Noli who has helped create such a Grand History for the Republic of Cape Verde and bring honor to the City of Noli. I would like to conclude by quoting a noted 15th century Italian poet, Angelo Poliziano wrote of the heroic warrior: "(He must) go into the field once more and crown himself with new a wreath, for virtue proves itself greater in trials, as gold shines the more in fire".

Thank you for your kind attention.

Bibliography:

Frances Gardiner Davenport, editor, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1917, Washington, D.C., at pp. 20-26. The original text in Latin is in the same volume, at pp. 13-20.)

Curtin, Phillip D, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969)

Reynolds, Edward, *Stand the Storm: A History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (London: Allison and Busby, 1985)

Thomas, Hugh, *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870* (London: Picador, 1997)

Walvin, James, *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery* (London: HarperCollins, 1992)

Ivan T. Sanderson, *Follow the Whale* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1956) p. 261.

Falmouth Enterprise, June 12, 1973, New Bedford Standard Times, Feb. 17, 1974

Carl Norman Haywood, *American Whalers in Africa*, Boston University, Ph.D. Dissertation

Elmo P. Hohman, *The American Whaleman* (N.Y.; Longmans, Green and Co., 1928).

Gina Sanchez Gibau, *The Western Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 29, No. 2, 2005

Amilcar Cabral, "National Liberation and Culture." University of Syracuse, February 20, 1970. Document presented in tribute to Eduardo Mondlane.

Pires, Vasco R. A., *Soul & Spirit Discovering Our Roots in Cape Verde*, Xlibris, 2010

Ikeda, Daisaku, *The Human Revolution*. Santa Monica, California: The World Tribune Press.

The city of Noli opened the road to a proper acknowledgement of Antonio de Noli as the discoverer and colonizer of the Islands of Cape Verde

By Prof. Alberto Peluffo

Former Deputy Mayor of the city of Noli, Editor of the Italian version of the book ¹⁶⁴ and at the time President of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society



First meeting in Noli. In the photo Alberto Peluffo, then Deputy Mayor of the City of Noli, and Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli. Noli City Hall, Summer 2005

“Campanilismo” is a difficult word to translate into English, because it is closely related to the history of a country – Italy – which was split up for centuries into small states or even city-states, often at war with one another. Noli was one of those city-states, certainly one of the tiniest: it stayed independent for six centuries, during which the people lived within their city walls, with enemies all around. It is no wonder that they developed a strong pride for their identity and an equally

¹⁶⁴ *Da Noli a Capo Verde*. Op. cit. In English means “From Noli to Cape Verde”. See facsimile of the Italian Edition by Sabatelli Editore in page 165.

strong wariness of strangers.

Pride for a people's heritage is a feeling everybody can agree upon, but it may turn into something different when a spirit of self-defence sets in: then, pride becomes a small-scale equivalent of nationalism, which is what we call *campanilismo*. The term derives from *campanile*, that is the bell tower above churches; as it is normally the tallest building in a town, it is also the symbol every member of a community can share. It is the equivalent of a national flag, so to speak. Nationalism often causes damages, sometimes very serious ones; its local version is less harmful, thanks to the fact that it has a smaller scope, but it can bring about negative consequences anyway.

Local history spoilt by localism

Bernardo Gandoglia was a distinguished scholar who lived in Noli across the late 19th and the early 20th centuries. He was a teacher and a headmaster, and he is to be credited with rediscovering the ancient history of Noli as reported by the manuscripts in the city archives, dating back to the Middle Ages. Instead of a simple sequence of facts in chronological order, he wrote a lively description of life in old times, as it came out of such documents as the sentences of the court of justice or the minutes of the city council sessions. He enriched the reports with his own comments, making it easier for the readers to go through the almost 700 pages of the book.

Gandoglia also wrote a smaller history in proper style, and this is where he mentioned the man who discovered Cape Verde, calling him *Anton da Noli*. *Anton* is an old-fashioned apocope of *Antonio*, but a problem arose from his choice of using the surname *da Noli*, which never appeared in the known documents of the navigator's times. Thanks to Bernardo Gandoglia, we got to know a great sailor, and the discovery of the islands was correctly attributed to him, after many documents had credited others - basically his contemporary, Alvise Cadamosto. But this is where the writer's partiality came in and complicated things: in fact, he wrote that Antonio was undoubtedly born in Noli, thus misleading those who based their researches on that peremptory statement. It is a fact that the nickname *da Noli* could only be attributed to someone who was born in Noli but no longer lived there, as it means *from Noli*. If Antonio had been born in Noli, he would therefore have had a different surname, which he would have lost after moving to Genoa. This made it impossible to investigate on his origins and his family.

Gandoglia showed no evidence to support his statement, but simply complained about the fact that the Genoese scholars wanted to "rob" Noli of the pride of having given birth to Antonio. Another scholar, Amedeo Pescio, supported his colleague by writing: "I find no reason for depriving the small, towered, steep and beautiful republic of Noli from the Ligurian pride of giving birth to the great navigator". *Pride* is the key word, and it is understandable, of course, but it cannot substitute historical evidence.

Indeed, Gandoglia contradicted his own statement, by writing that other people bore the surname *da Noli*; among them there was a cartographer, Agostino, who

was authorized to teach his skills to his brother, maybe Antonio himself. The conclusion Gandoglia did not draw is that, if other family members used Antonio's surname, this means that the family had already moved from Noli earlier, and Antonio and his brother had simply inherited it.

The other problem with introducing the navigator as a “local glory” of Noli was that his fame was almost confined within the city walls. A street in the medieval centre was entitled to him; a school, the yacht club and a fishermen's club also took his name. *Anton da Noli* has therefore been a familiar name to every inhabitant of Noli and to its many visitors, but very few people knew something about him before the conference “Da Noli a Capo Verde” was held: collecting further information would have required scholarly investigations in Portugal, and that was beyond the strength of such a small community.

Bernardo Gandoglia would probably have frowned at the conclusions of the conference “Da Noli a Capo Verde”, which clarified that Antonio's surname was de Noli and that his birthplace was Genoa. Nevertheless, by organizing the conference, the city of Noli opened the road to a proper acknowledgement of Antonio de Noli as the discoverer and colonizer of the Islands of Cape Verde. The worth of this event is much higher than local pride.

The Italian edition ¹⁶⁵

After a long, demanding editing, the time has finally come for the publication of the papers presented in the international conference “Da Noli a Capo Verde”, which was held in Noli in September 2010. When I first met professor Marcello Ferrada de Noli, I would have never guessed that an occasional conversation could take us this far. The theme of Antonio de Noli and Cape Verde came as the last ring of a chain of different subjects we touched during that talk, and the idea of an international conference he immediately put forward seemed to me a hopeful thinking more than a real opportunity.

My fellow citizens and I had very little information on the man we called Anton da Noli: we knew he had discovered Cape Verde, but our knowledge stopped there. Visitors knew very little about him and his achievements, and they often showed disbelief when we proudly said that an almost unknown Ligurian sailor had found those islands.

It was only thanks to Professor de Noli's competence and commitment that the conference became reality in 2010. He was able to assemble an international panel of scholars, who came to Noli and gave a full account of Antonio de Noli's biography, as well as of the birth and development of the capeverdian society. In the editing I am using *Ferrada de Noli* as his family name (and not the Swedish usage *Ferrada-Noli*), because his grandfather Vittorio Noli, an Italian born in Valleregia (Serra Riccò, Genoa, 1881), is a documented descendant of the De Noli family of Valleregia.

¹⁶⁵ Final Remarks by Prof. Alberto Peluffo published in the Italian edition of the book. The text was written by November 2012. Translation: A. Peluffo.

Three parties were involved in the organization of the conference, alongside with the Antonio de Noli Academic Society: the City of Noli, Fondazione Culturale S. Antonio and the Ambassador of Cape Verde in Italy, dr. José Eduardo Barbosa. I wish to thank them all for their efforts.

Since the conference, the whole scholarly group and myself have worked on the preparation of this book. The papers had to be edited and translated, in order to give a full account of the proceedings in the three languages involved, English, Italian and Portuguese. This work is therefore available, in Italy and abroad, for anybody interested in the history of geographic discoveries and of the development of the New World. It is the final stage of this project, but also the starting point for possible, further studies on these subjects.

As the new president of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, I am very proud of this achievement and open to every new contribution.

Image below. Public placard posted by the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation of the City of Noli, April 2013.

Sabato 20 Aprile 2013 - ore 16.30
nei locali della
FONDAZIONE CULTURALE
SANT'ANTONIO
Via Suor Letizia, 27 - Noli
PRESENTAZIONE DEL VOLUME

Antonio de Noli
 L'INIZIO DELLE SCOPERTE
 DEL NUOVO MONDO
 CORRADINO ASTENGO
 MARCEL BALLA
 ILARIA BRIGATI
 MARCELLO FERRADA DE NOLI
 LOURENÇO GOMES
 TREVOR HALL
 VASCO PIRES
 CARLA ROSETTI

Da Noli a Capo Verde
 MARCO SABATELLI EDITORE

interverranno

Marcello Ferrada De Noli
 Autore

Alberto Peluffo
 Curatore del volume

Moderatore
Furio Ciciliot

La cittadinanza è invitata - Seguirà rinfresco



Historical theses on Antonio de Noli. Editor's Closing Remarks

By Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli

After the international research conference on navigator Antonio de Noli of 2010, at the City of Noli¹⁶⁶, I called upon a meeting of the board of directors of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society; at that time I was president of the society. The meeting took place at the facilities of the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation of the city of Noli, on the 19th of September 2010. In the meeting participated also the president of the cultural foundation at that time, Prof. Mario Lorenzo Paggi Paigi, and the ambassador of Cape Verde to Italy, Dr. José Eduardo Barbosa.

Among the decisions taken in the said meeting, it was the approval of my initiative on the publication of the proceedings of the Conference in the form of a book, to contain the research presentations. It was also decided that we would pursue the publications of three versions of the book: one Italian version edited by Alberto Peluffo, one English version edited by Ferrada de Noli, and a Portuguese version edited by Marcel Balla and Lourenço Gomes.

The S. Antonio Cultural Foundation of the City of Noli financed the Italian version, which was published by Marco Sabatelli Editore in March 2013. On behalf of the coauthors, and mine personally, I thank both Claudia Manzino, president of the foundation, and the former president Lorenzo Paggi. The support from the part of Major Ambrogio Repetto, and the dedicated work of Alberto Peluffo, author and former Deputy Major of Noli, were vital to the publication of *Da Noli a Capo Verde*.

Presentation of the book at the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation

After the publication of the book with the title “Da Noli a Capo Verde” – which means “From Noli to Cap Verde” – the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation organized a cultural event to introduce it to the public. There, the book was to be presented by Prof. Alberto Peluffo, editor;¹⁶⁷ by Dott. Furio Ciciliot, moderator on behalf of the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation); and by author M. Ferrada de Noli. [See poster in precedent page, and pictorial down below]. Chair of the act was Mrs. Claudia Manzino, president of the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation.

Dott. Furio Ciciliot, the moderator, made the opening presentation. I thank him here for his interesting intervention. His views about the historical name and origin

¹⁶⁶ International conference “Da Noli a Capo Verde”, Noli, Italy, September 2010.

¹⁶⁷ In Italian, “*Curatore del volumen*”

of the navigator, as linked to local whereabouts of the City of Noli, promoted a lively academic discussion – also with participation of the public. A rationale about the origin of those theses - in the main authored in older times by Gandoglia – are explained by Prof. Alberto Peluffo in the precedent chapter 8 of this book [See “*Local history spoilt by localism*” in page 154].

For my part, I resumed my views particularly on *the content* of such interesting debate at the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation in an issue of the *Research Bulletin of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society*; ¹⁶⁸ a material that it will be soon published by Libertarian Books – Sweden.

The intervention of Dr Ciciliot, called to the event by the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation, echoed also the position of the president of the local cultural institution Mrs Manzino.

In a brief foreword¹⁶⁹ printed in the Italian version – corresponding to a text not known by us the authors of the book – Mrs. Claudia Manzino refers to the Genoese navigator Antonio de Noli as to “Anton Da Noli”, and also mentioning the navigator as being one “personality linked to the local history” of the city of Noli.¹⁷⁰ The use of the “Da” instead of “De” in Italian names would suggest the name linked to a certain locality, in this case the city of Noli – which at the times of the 15th hundred was a republic by itself, whereas Genoa was a quite another state.

In fact, the book that Mrs. Manzino addressed in her *Presentazione* consisted in a merged research report in which its authors have demonstrated - and documented with a variety of sources and manuscripts: a) the facts about the navigator’s name being indeed Antonio de Noli, and b) the facts about his place of birth being Genoa.

However her predecessor at the presidency of the foundation, Prof. Lorenzo Paggi, had another stance on the historical origins of Antonio de Noli [See text under caption in picture below].



Finalizing the meeting at the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation on the 20th of August 2010: (From left) Ambassador Luis Eduardo Barbosa, Prof. Alberto Peluffo, Prof. Ferrada de Noli, and Prof. Lorenzo Paggi, at the time president of the Cultural Foundation.

¹⁶⁸ M Ferrada de Noli (2013). *The Genoese Nationality of Antonio De Noli. With a historical and genealogical rebuttal of the toponym hypothesis on the origins of the Cape Verde’s discoverer*. Research Bulletin of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, Spring issue, 2013.

¹⁶⁹ Claudia Manzino. “Presentazione”. Boog “Da Noli a Capo Verde”. Marco Sabatelli editore. Op. Cit., page 6.

¹⁷⁰ “personaggi legati alla storia locale . . .”

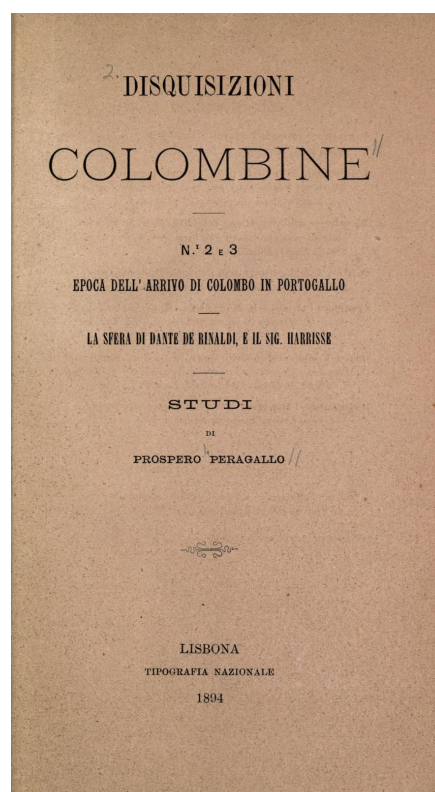
The meeting at the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation on the 20th of August 2010 was the concluding organization meeting for the International Conference scheduled for the 18th of September in Noli. Just minutes before the picture above was taken, and while standing, Prof. Paggi addressed to Alberto Peluffo expressing that as it was now demonstrated by the international investigations, Antonio de Noli was from Genoa and not from Noli, and that it should not be regarded as an issue. To which I agreed. I finish these editor's remarks with a text I published in that year in our *Research Bulletin*.

"Local VS. Historical theses" ¹⁷¹

The *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* ¹⁷² is clear on the issue of the place of birth of Antonio de Noli: "Born in Genoa of a family with origins from Noli" (*"Nacque a Genova da famiglia di origine nolese"*).

Accordingly, all along since the publication in Venice 1562 of the classic "Asia" of de Barros, written 1539 ¹⁷³ until the beginning of XX century, it has been of public knowledge that the place of birth of Antonio de Noli is Genoa. As late as 1894, Prospero Peragallo – one most distinguished Italian historian – referred to the navigator as *Genovese* and as "Noli" (not "da" Noli).¹⁷⁴

However, this was challenged during a period some decades ago, after the publication of Bernardo Gandoglia's book "In Repubblica" in 1926,¹⁷⁵ focused on the history of the City of Noli. The local author Gandoglia launched the thesis (*"tesi toponimica"*) that the navigator "Da Noli" was "Nolese" (born in Noli). According to Emanuele Diotto, ¹⁷⁶ the emphasis in the Gandoglia's argument is particularly based in the "Da", which



¹⁷¹ M. Ferrada de Noli (2010). From Italy to Cape Verde - 550 Years. A biographical study of navigator Antonio de N. *Research Bulletin of The Antonio de Noli Academic Society*. Vol. 1, Nr.5, p. 105 – 117, 2010

¹⁷² (Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana, Roma, 1925, 1965)

¹⁷³ Barros, João. "L'Asia", Dec. I. lib. 2. cap. I. Republished by Vincenzo Valgriso, Venice, 1562

¹⁷⁴ "...spianare gli ardui problemi cosmografici e geografici che si presentavano, i *genovesi* Antonio, e Bartolomeo Noli. . e il *veneziano* Luigi di Cà da Mosto". In Peragallo Prospero (1894) "Disquisizioni Colombine. N. i 2 e 3. Epoca dell' arrivo di Colombo in Portogallo / La Sfera di Dante de Rinaldi, e il sig. Harrisse. Tipografia Nazionale, Lisbona. Page 79

¹⁷⁵ Gandoglia (1919). "In Repubblica" (696 pages)

¹⁷⁶ Emanuele Diotto, *Antonio da Noli e la scoperta delle isole del Capo Verde*

would denote the navigator's birth (in the Republica of Noli). This is in turn an argument in Giovanni Delscalzo's "Antonio da Noli" (1943). But neither this author indicated any verifiable source for such contention. He mentioned a certain birth certificate containing the particle "da" before "Noli" but referred no information where the document was, or where he would have seen it in original or replica, or heard about it, etc.

As the name Antonio *da* Noli bears the assumption he would have born in Noli, vice versa, it is assumed that he was born in Noli because his name would be Antonio *da* Noli (as *da* would denote procedence). Emanuele Diotto, in *Antonio da Noli e la scoperta delle isole del Capo Verde* quotes City of Noli historian Bernardo Gandoglia as referring the existence of a birth document with the name Antonio *da* Noli. In fact this was put forward also by G. Descalzo in his "Antonio da Noli" in which states "*La fede di nascita del nostro navigatore ci è per fortuna conservata nella particella da che va unita al suo nome, e se il lettore vuole conoscere la verità, guardi con quanta premura i predetti scrittori genovesi danno il frego a questa povera particella.*" However there is no indicated reference or source for such document. The serious question remains, where is that *fede di nascita*?, who has ever seen it? Where are the other members of the "Da Noli" family in Noli, or for that part in the whole Italy during these 550 years?

Further bibliographic references on this topic (biographers or authors of history books that also would state that the navigator Noli was born in Noli), is neither given by authors Gandoglia or Diotto. In have asked personally in Noli City, in formal meetings of 2005 and 2008, both to high Municipality authorities or Church officials in Noli, for the whereabouts of this document – the birth or baptism certificate mentioned by Diotto/Gandoglia or any other that could show the origin of Antonio Noli in the City of Noli. But after five years I am still waiting for their answer.

The *tesi storica*

João de Barros, the most prominent among the Portuguese historians of the epoch – generally referred in the literature in terms of "the most trustworthy historian of the Portuguese voyages"¹⁷⁷ - explicitly reported that Antonio de Noli was "di natione genovese, et di sangue nobile" (Genoese of noble blood)¹⁷⁸. As the official King's historian, Barros had access by 1539 to the very documents that had appointed Captain de Noli in the official exploration enterprises and later entitled him in the

¹⁷⁷ "Barros, the most trustworthy historian of the Portuguese voyages, (Asia, chap.2. and 3.) whose works comes down to 1539, and who had before him relations of the discoveries made by hos countrymen". In: Spotorno, Giovanni Battista "*Historical Memoir of Christopher Columbus and His Discoveries*". Treuttel and Wurtz, London, 1823. Page xxiii.

Professor Dr. Giovanni Battista Spotorno adds (page xxv) that Antonio Noli was "fellow citizen" of Christopher Columbus.

¹⁷⁸ Barros, João. "L'Asia", Dec. I. lib. 2. cap. I. Republished by Vincenzo Valgriso, Venice, 1562. Barros stated on Antonio di Noli: "di natione genovese, et di sangue nobile, che per alcuni dispiaceri che hebbe nella patria sua se ne venne in questo regno con due navi. .." Further sources of older as well as modern research history books indicating Genoa as the place of birth of Antonio de Noli, likewise his real name as *de Noli* instead of *da Noli*, are found in the English Encyclopaedia article on Antonio Noli published by Wikipedia

governorship, as well as other members of the de Noli family. Barros had even the possibility to meet explorers, navy officers and government officials that had met Antonio Noli personally. Further, countless books and history research articles on the subject of Italian intercontinental discoveries have contributed with details confirming this report of being Genoa the original nation of Antonio de Noli.

With regard to the name “de Noli” (instead of “da” Noli), of particular interest are two sources. One is based on accounts from 1462, at the very epoch of the de Noli in Cape Verde, and which is preserved in chronicles of the Franciscan Order. In this chronicle (O Covento de S. Bernardino. Apontamentos. A Fialho d’Almeida) referring to Antonio de Noli’s brother Bartholomew, it is distinctly stated both that his family name was “de Noli” and that he was a “Genovez”.¹⁷⁹

Another is the testimony of Sir Richard Francis Burton – British consul and famous explorer, discoverer of Tanganyika Lake. He had grown up in Italy and later served as British consul in Trieste. As erudite in languages and geography history, he knew well the Italian discoveries in Africa [plaque at Trieste, Italy, at the right]. Burton visited the Island of Antonio de Noli in 1865 and based much information directly from their inhabitants. In his “Letter V. Cape Verde Islands”,¹⁸⁰ Burton explicitly states all the names by which the commander was known (Antonio de Nola, or Nollas, Nolle, and Noli) but not one mention to “da Noli”.

In my foreword “Antonio de Noli and the City of Noli” [See page 8 in this book] I documented an ancient manuscript I found in the Genoa library (“Famiglie Di Genova. Antiche, e Moderne, Estinte, e Viventi, Nobili, e Popolari”) which in “Parte II, D.E.F.G.I.L.M.N.O./ MDCCLXXXIII”, page 293, refers to Antonio Noli as “Peritissimo Piloto Genovese. Fui il primo che scoperse le Isole di Capoverde”. Also the manuscript mentions just before – in the same paragraph – other members of the family *de Noli* as been since much earlier date (1382) in Genoa (“Giacomo de Noli fui un de XII-Anziani del Comune sotto il Duce Nicolas de Guarco”), and even continues immediately after the entries on Antonio Noli by documenting “Continua in Genova la famiglia de Noli in molto ricchi et onorati. . .oltre varÿ altri Nobili Noli”.¹⁸¹

Other international historians and researches indicating that the place of birth of Antonio Noli is Genoa are for example Dumoriez (1762),¹⁸² Thomas (1860),¹⁸³ Hamilton (1975),¹⁸⁴ Diffie and Winius (1977),¹⁸⁵ Irwin and Wilson (1999).¹⁸⁶

¹⁷⁹ “*Occidente*. Revista Illustrada de Portugal e do Extranjero”. 16. Anno -XVI Volume – N.o 515. Page 85

¹⁸⁰ Sir Richard Burton. From London to Rio de Janeiro. Letters to a Friend. Letter V. Cape Verde Islands. Page 496

¹⁸¹ “Famiglie Di Genova. Antiche, e moderne, estinte, e viventi, nobili, e popolari”. Parte II, D.E.F.G.I.L.M.N.O./ MDCCLXXXIII. Pages 293-294

¹⁸² Charles François Du Périer Dumouriez, “An account of Portugal, as it appeared in 1766 to Dumoriez. Printed at Lausanne 1775”. Law, Debret & Balfour, London, 179. Page 95

¹⁸³ “(Cape Verde discoveries)...by Antonio Noli, a *Genoese* in the service of the Prince of Portugal. In W. Thomas, M.A., “The West Coast of Africa, And Its Islands”. Derby & Jackson, New York, 1860. Page 327

Yet other notable authors which manifestly give the proper family *de Noli*, instead for otherwise, are for instance Du Perier (1797),¹⁸⁷ Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa (1935),¹⁸⁸ Eannes de Azurara (1841),¹⁸⁹ Historical Section of the Foreign Office (1920),¹⁹⁰ Bailey and Winus (1477),¹⁹¹ Nowel (1952),¹⁹² Verlinden (1963),¹⁹³ in other words, in “most history or geographic books, including ancient chronics, or encyclopaedia”, as it is quoted by the English Wikipedia article on Antonio de Noli, text which refers to my publication in *Research Bulletin*.

¹⁸⁴ “The Portuguese, with the aid of *Genovese* navigator Antonio Noli, discovered the remaining, likewise inhabited, islands of the Cape Verde Archipelago”. In Russel G. Hamilton, “Voices from an Empire”. University of Minnesota, 1975. Page 233

¹⁸⁵ Bailey W. Diffie & George D. Winus “Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580”. Op. cit. Page 111

¹⁸⁶ “...(Discovered Cape Verde)....More likely, it was the *Genoese* António de Noli”. In Aisling Irwin & Colum Wilson, “Cape Verde Islands”. The Globe Pequot Press, Guilford, Connecticut. Fourth Edition, 2009. Page 6

¹⁸⁷ Charles François Du Périer Dumouriez, “An account of Portugal, as it appeared in 1766 to Dumouriez. Printed at Lausanne 1775”. Law, Debret & Balfour, London, 1797

¹⁸⁸ The “Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa” refer to him as *Antonio de Noli*. Op. cit. Page 836

¹⁸⁹ “Uso di Mare and *Antonio de Noli* were to be found in the same employment the connection between...”. In Gomes Eannes de Azurara, “The chronicle of the discovery and conquest of Guinea”. The Hakluyt Society, London, 1896-1899. Page 300. (Earlier published in Portuguese by Pariz Aillaud 1841)

¹⁹⁰ Cape Verde Islands. Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. No. 117. Published by H.M. Stationery Office. London, 1920

¹⁹¹ “A *carta regia* (royal letter) of September 19, 1462, attributed the discovery of the Cape Verde Islands to the Italian *Antonio de Noli*”. In Bailey W. Diffie & George D. Winus, “Foundations of the Portuguese Empire 1415-1580”. University of Minnesota Press, 1977. Page 106

¹⁹² C.E. Nowel “A History of Portugal”. D Van Nostrand Co. New York 1952. Pages 40, 256

¹⁹³ Charles Verlinden, “*Antonio de Noli e a colonização das ilhas de Cabo Verde*”. Lisboa, 1963

Pictorial



In the photo above, members of the Society Board on occasion of the conference *From Noli to Cape Verde* at the City of Noli (Savona, Italy), September 18, 2010. From the left: Prof. Corradino Astengo, Prof. Trevor Hall Ph.D., Marcel Balla M.A., Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli Ph.D. (founder of the society and Honorary President), Sea Captain and writer Vasco Pires, Ambassador Dr. Jose Eduardo Barbosa (Invited participant at the board-meeting, not official member of the Society), and Prof. Alberto Peluffo (President of the Society). Prof. Lourenço Gomes Ph.D., president of the Society 2013 (picture further below, page 166) also attended the conference and board meeting in Noli.



Official opening of the Conference on Antonio de Noli at the City Hall, September 2010. In the photo above the Mayor of the City of Noli Ambrogio Repetto, and the Ambassador of Cape Verde to Italy Jose Eduardo Barbosa. Far left, Professor Marcello Ferrada de Noli



At a Plenarium session of the Conference: Ambassador Barbosa, Prof. Astengo, Mayor Repetto, Prof. Peluffo, Prof. Ferrada de Noli, Prof. Hall



Pictures above: Prof. Dr. Lourenço Gomes, president of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society 2013. Below: Prof. Corradino Astengo intervening in the meeting of the Society Board at the City of Noli (Savona, Italy) on September 19, 2010. Special guests: Dr. Jose Eduardo Barbosa, Ambassador of Cape Verde to Italy (at left), and Prof. Mario Lorenzo Paggi (center, back), at the time President of the Fondazione Culturale S. Antonio.



Above: Mr. Marcel Balla's lecture. In the first row, Ambassador Jose Eduardo Barbosa. Below left, Capt. and author Vasco Pires. Below right, Professor Trevor Hall Ph.D.





Professor Trevor Hall



Professor Corradino Astengo



Professor Emeritus Marcello Ferrada de Noli, founder and Honorary President of the Academic Society Antonio de Noli, and Dr Jose Eduardo Barbosa, the Cape Verde Ambassador to Italy, during an earlier meeting in Noli February 2010



Prof. Alberto Peluffo, President of the Antonio de Noli Academic Society 2011-2012 and Editor of the Italian version of this book



Professor Marcello Ferrada de Noli researching at the Section *Servizio Conservazione e Ricerche*, *Bibliotheca Malatestiana*. Cesena, Italy, 2008



Mr. Marcel Balla and the Ambassador of Cape Verde to Portugal Dr Arnaldo Andrade Ramos. Vila Real de Santo Antonio, Portugal, 2010



Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Ambassador José Eduardo Barbosa, and Prof. Alberto Peluffo, at the dinner hosted by the City of Noli 19 September 2010



Memorial plate presented by the Mayor of the City of Noli Ambrogio Repetto to the scholars attending the international conference on Antonio de Noli



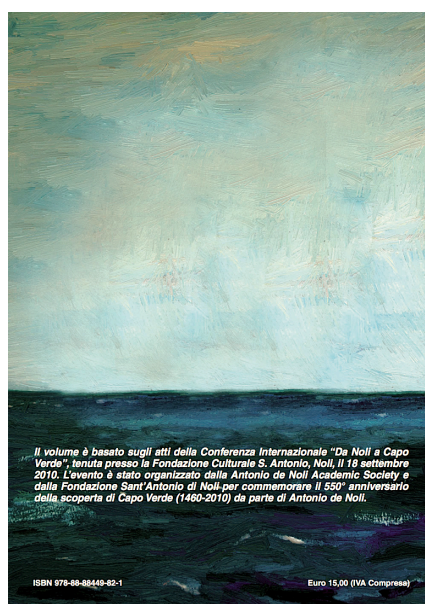
Manuscript book *Memorie delle Famiglie della Città di Cesena*. Found by the authors at the Biblioteca Malatestiana in Cesena on the 5th of March, 2008



Other manuscript collections examined at the Malatestiana Library 2008-2009



Cover of the Italian book “Da Noli a Capo Verde - Antonio de Noli e l’inizio delle scoperte del Nuovo Mondo”, given by the Cultural Foundation Sant’Antonio (Noli, SV, Italy), and the Antonio de Noli Academic Society. Published by Sabatelli Editore, Italy, February 2013.





Above: Memorial Plate presented by the De Noli descendants (lineage Giovanni Battista, of the XI Generation) to authorities of Genoa and Serra Riccò, and to the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, all guests at the banquet invited by the family, on June 19th 2010 in Serra Riccò. The vent was called to celebrate the 55th anniversary of the Cape Verde discoveries. Below: De Noli descendants of the 14th, 15th and 16th generations, at the reunion.





Above: Book presentation in Noli, April 20th 2013. From left: Author Corradino Astengo, Dott. Furio Ciciliot, author M. Ferrada de Noli, Editor Alberto Peluffo, and Mrs. Claudia Manzino, president of the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation of the City of Noli.

Below: Prof. Alberto Peluffo presenting the book at the Liguria Book Fair 2013, in Finale Ligure



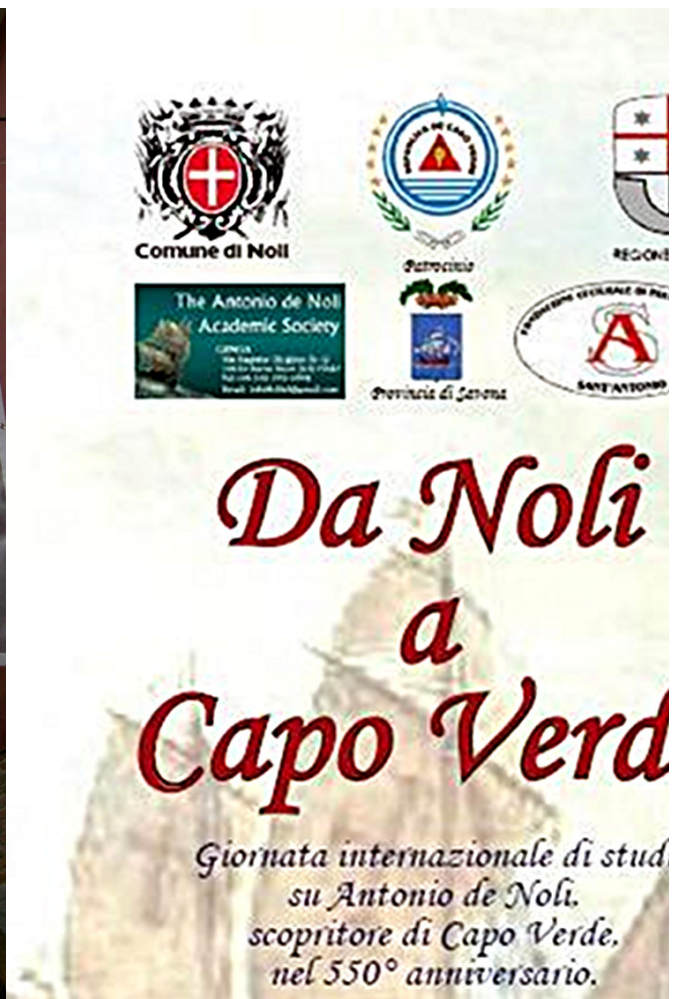


Image above: Mr. Marcel Balla and Prof. Corradino Astengo at the book presentation in Noli, 20 April 2013. Image below: At the same event, editor Albeto Peluffo and the president of the S. Antonio Cultural Foundation of the City of Noli Mrs. Claudia Manzino





Above: Author Ferrada de Noli interviewed at the Liguria Book Fair 2013. Below: At left, Ban at the streets of Noli; at right, fascimile of the 2010 Conference brochy





Above: Cultural event organized by the Municipality of Serra Riccò and the Antonio de Noli Academic Society, on occasion of the 55th Anniversary of navigator de Noli's explorations in Africa and Cape Verde. In the event participated authorities of the Province of Genoa and of the Region of Liguria, and members of the diplomatic corps and the Church. In the picture at the podium, from the left: Mr. Domenico Vitetta, Ufficio Emigrazione della Regione Liguria, of the Genoa Province, the Cape Verde Ambassador Dr Jose Eduardo Barbosa, the Major of Serra Riccò Dott. Andrea Torres, Prof. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, Mr. Marcel Balla, and the Consul of Costa Rica Mr. Luigi Cusio. Standing, Mr. Luciano Marmi.

Image below: Mr. Tomaso Richini, Cultural Advisor of the Municipality of Serra Riccò interviewing Dr. Marcello Ferrada de Noli, president of the society 2009-2011.

